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ABSTRACT

Grouse Creek is a small Mormon ranching community in the extreme northwest corner of Utah. A survey of that community was conducted during 1985 by a team of folklorists, architectural historians, and historians, with the purpose of testing the idea of combining in the same fieldwork a concern for architecture, folk arts, and folklife. The work was motivated by a growing commitment among public sector historians and folklorists to a more comprehensive approach to preservation that includes both tangible and intangible cultural resources and embraces both the historical past and the cultural present. The focus of this report is not on history or ethnography, but on concept and method. It examines one project, reviewing its background and genesis, describing its planning and execution, reporting its findings (which comprise approximately one half of the document), and judging what may be learned from it. The benefits of the Grouse Creek project extended to all of the participating agencies, and the survey's findings and the development of the extensive project archive will encourage future exhibits or publications. An integrated survey is more time-consuming and costly than a less elaborate architectural survey; an appendix offers an overview of the project's costs. A brief summary of the project archive and a 17-item bibliography are also included. Document contains black and white photographs. (JB)

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THE GROUSE CREEK CULTURAL SURVEY

Integrating Folklife and Historic Preservation Field Research

Thomas Carter and Carl Fleischhauer

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THE GROUSE CREEK CULTURAL SURVEY

The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey is a joint project of the American Folklife Center, the Utah State Historic Preservation Office, the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council, the Western Folklife Center, the National Park Service, and Utah State University. This publication was supported in part by funds from the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

THE GROUSE CREEK CULTURAL SURVEY

Integrating Folklife and Historic Preservation Field Research

by
Thomas Carter and Carl Fleischhauer

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Foreword

Historic preservation is an important aspect of our work at the Department of the Interior. The bureaus within the department manage the National Parks and other land, regulate the use of public lands and resources by nongovernment organizations, assist Indian tribes, and are responsible for the protection of the nation's historic resources. We seek to carry out these responsibilities in partnership with other federal agencies, state and local governments, the academic community, and the private sector. We strive to be creative in our endeavors, and to support innovative approaches that can enrich our understanding of how best to preserve our nation's heritage.

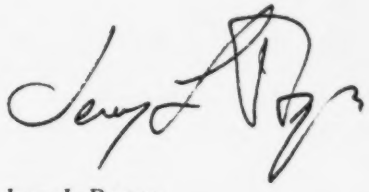
With this in mind, it is a particular pleasure to introduce this report in which two preservation-minded disciplines—architectural history and folklife—are joined to provide us with an unusually rich picture of the cultural history of Grouse Creek, Utah. What sets this study apart is that our understanding of the community's cultural heritage is based upon both its architecture and its folklife. Grouse Creek's cultural resources include a wide range of traditional knowledge, customs, skills, and artifacts as well as a number of significant buildings, structures, and sites.

One of the lessons of the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey is that America's heritage lives on in people's activities as well as in their material objects. Although modified by changing circumstances—just as a historic building may be adapted for a new use—community traditions can continue from the past to the present and contain the promise of a vital future. Folklife specialists can identify and evaluate these community traditions. By combining a folklife survey and an architectural survey, this study takes us one step further toward understanding how our historical and cultural foundations are living parts of community life. Historic preservation in the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey becomes a broader, richer field; it moves toward cultural preservation—a union of past and present, of architecture and community life.

The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey was a cooperative effort by the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress, the National Park Service, the Utah State Historic Preservation Office, the Utah Arts Council, the Western Folklife Center, and Utah State University.

In another setting, another combination of disciplines or organizations might be effectively used to produce a similarly integrated result. Like the folklife specialists in Grouse Creek, anthropologists, sociologists, landscape architects, and planners can contribute concepts, methods, and ideas that illuminate the complexity of a community's

cultural, natural, and historic setting—the *context* within which all cultural expressions take on significance. The lesson of the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey is that the traditional disciplines of historic preservation—history, architectural history, and archeology—have much to gain from collaboration with other fields, that other disciplines will be enriched by participating in historic preservation activities, and that public policy in cultural resource management will gain from such collaborations. The authors and their coworkers are to be congratulated for producing an important and thought-provoking report.



Jerry L. Rogers
Associate Director, Cultural Resources
National Park Service
Department of the Interior

Oren Kimber as a young buckaroo, ca. 1920. (Courtesy Oren Kimber; GCCS HCB-25638/12)

Preface

We met Jeff Thomas the first week we were in Grouse Creek, a small Mormon ranching community in the extreme northwest corner of Utah. Twenty-eight, married, and a descendant of one of the valley's first settlers, Jeff had spent his youth in Wyoming but returned several years ago to take over the family ranch. Hesitant and distant at first, Jeff warmed to our questions about Grouse Creek history and the old way of life, and soon we were in a truck heading into the mountains for a tour of the country. "Indian Corral," "The Deer Camp," and "Rocky Knob" were not places on our map, but Jeff Thomas, playing the role of local historian, told lengthy stories about the people and events that made them what they are today—local landmarks. Jeff had this history from his grandfather and, despite his long absence, knew the Grouse Creek story well. As we parted company that afternoon, after several hours of talk, Jeff concluded, "Yes, there's a lot of history in this place," then added, as if to complete the thought, "in the things people do."

Jeff Thomas's marriage of past and present, of history and "the things people do," may at first appear curious. History is for most, after all, the record of past experience. Yet for Jeff, and for many Grouse Creek residents, the past is close at hand. It may be seen in the old ranch buildings along the road and it surfaces in conversation at the local co-op store in stories about Cotton Thomas and Chick McKnight, the Deer Hunter's Ball, and the winter of '21. And because of the strength of the community's traditions, it is also visible in everyday life itself—in the way people work, worship, and view the world. Certainly things have changed since Grouse Creek was founded in the mid-1870s. People now have tractors and televisions, and two years ago the old rock church was torn down and replaced by a new one with air-conditioning. Yet the yearly cycle of ranching established early in the history of the valley continues. In spring the cowboys round up the cattle, in the summer they become farmers and put up hay, and in the fall they round up the cattle again and drive them to the winter range. The way of life derives from a special relationship between a people and a place and is passed on from generation to generation. Cultural traditions in Grouse Creek draw freely from the larger American culture yet remain firmly rooted in local experience. History is useful to people here, for as the cumulative record of life in the valley it gives meaning and continuity to daily life and provides a set of specific values, techniques, and processes that continue to shape "the things people do."

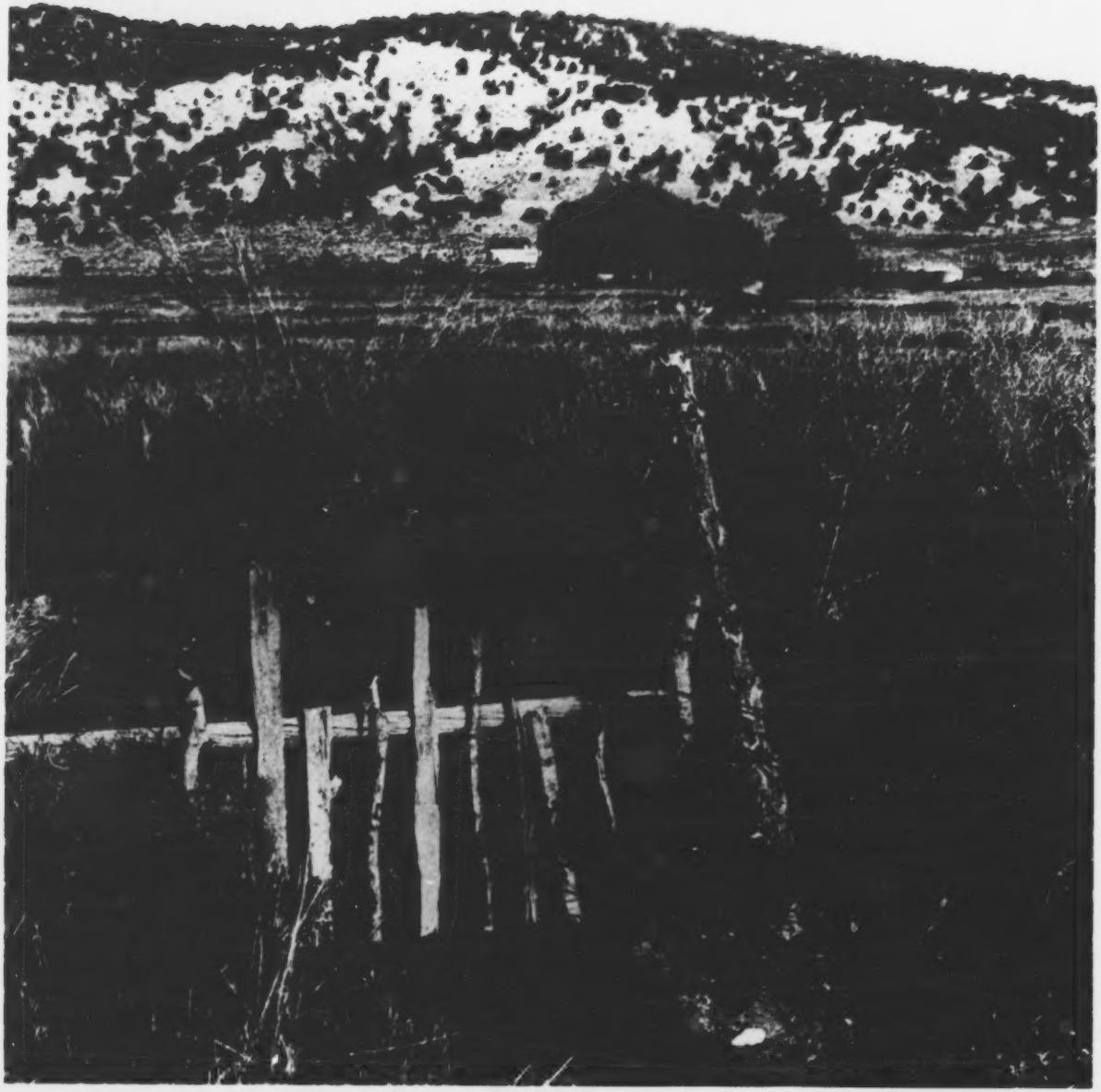
Such a vigorous, present-minded attitude toward history suggests new approaches

for preservationists. Grouse Creek's abundance of old buildings can help us document the community's history. Yet when Milt Oman breaks in a new horse, when Oren Kimber turns the irrigation water onto his field, or when Wallace Betteridge braids a rawhide rope, we are also witnessing history, for these activities are done today much as they were fifty to seventy-five years ago. Tangible landscape features such as ranch houses and corrals and intangible traditions such as celebrations and occupational practices are part of the same cultural fabric.

This report is about the history and culture of Grouse Creek. It describes a survey conducted during July 1985 by a team of folklorists, architectural historians, and historians. The purpose of the survey was to test the idea of combining in the same fieldwork a concern for architecture, folk arts, and folklife. The work was motivated by a growing commitment among public-sector historians and folklorists to a more comprehensive approach to preservation that includes both tangible and intangible cultural resources and embraces both the historical past and the cultural present. It is useful to think of this broader approach as cultural conservation, a term that underscores a concern not simply with cultural products like houses, quilts, or songs, but with the deeper values and processes of culture itself. The focus of this report therefore is not on history, although a history of Grouse Creek should be written, nor on ethnography, although a full-scale folklife study of the area is warranted, but on concept and method. It examines one project, reviewing its background and genesis, describing its planning and execution, reporting its findings, and judging what may be learned from it.

Neither the survey nor the report could have been accomplished without the support and encouragement of the American Folklife Center, the Utah State Historic Preservation Office, the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council, the Western Folklife Center, the Interagency Resources Division of the National Park Service, and Utah State University. Special thanks for offering their advice on the manuscript are due to de Teel Patterson Tiller and Patricia L. Parker of the National Park Service's Interagency Resources Division and Thomas F. King of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The field team is particularly indebted to the people of Grouse Creek who genially endured nearly a month of questions, interviews, and interruptions. Doug and Kathleen Tanner and their children deserve special thanks, for they fed us and kept our spirits up. Max and Melissa Tanner, Allen Tanner, Ella Tanner, Archie and Rhea Toyn, Winfred Kimber, Marge Thompson, Verna Kimber Richardson, and Oren and Opal Kimber are only a few of the people that made our stay profitable and enjoyable. Our thanks to them all. Finally, this volume is dedicated to the memories of Henry Carter and Tricia Tanner.

THE GROUSE CREEK CULTURAL SURVEY



Wooden floodgate on the east irrigation canal. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-16/31A-32)

Issues and a Proposal

Behind the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey lies a gradual coming together of approaches to cultural preservation that once seemed disparate. Historic preservation, archeology, and folklife have their own histories as protectors of America's cultural heritage. Although they are informed by the broad perspectives of history and anthropology, historic preservationists and archeologists have focused their activities on preserving the tangible aspects of culture—sites, buildings, structures, and artifacts. Preservation-minded folklorists, while also keeping an eye on broader matters of culture, have tended to preserve its intangible expressions—music, tales, and lore. But historic preservationists gradually broadened their scope from individual buildings to neighborhoods, communities, and districts, and began cultivating an interest in vernacular architecture; archeologists increased their attention to the historic as well as the prehistoric past; and folklorists developed a stronger network of researchers devoted to material culture. As Alan Jabbour (1982) argues in "Some Reflections on Intangible Cultural Resources," such disciplinary trends strengthened a sense of common enterprise and invited experiments in interdisciplinary collaboration.

Federal protection of tangible aspects of culture began in 1906, when the Antiquities Act authorized the president to designate as national monuments "historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest" on federally owned or controlled lands. In 1935 the Historic Sites Act articulated a "national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration of and benefit of the American people." But an active federal posture in preservation did not surface until passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which recognized that "the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people."

The National Historic Preservation Act laid the foundation for a working preservation program, the cornerstone of which was the National Register of Historic Places. "Composed of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture," the National Register was conceived with a dual identity. On the surface it serves as a list of the nation's significant prehistoric and historic properties, while at a deeper level it functions as a key element in federal preservation planning. Section 106 of the act provides that all federal activities be reviewed for their potential effect on "any district, site, building, structure, or object

Seth Fletcher house, site OGC 28. Fletcher, an English convert to Mormonism, built this house in about 1880. The coursed ashlar walls of locally quarried limestone represent a high degree of craftsmanship. The floorplan is of the type architectural historians call "hall-parlor," referring to the two rooms—one larger, one smaller—in the main section of the structure. An ell addition in the back of the house contained the kitchen. The stone string course that serves as flashing around the chimney is one of several characteristically English features. (Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25588/18)

that is included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register."

The National Register is administered by the National Park Service, but the day-to-day tasks of the program are managed by state historic preservation offices. Funded by matching grants-in-aid from the Park Service, state historic preservation offices conduct statewide surveys and maintain inventories of historic properties, make nominations to the National Register, and assist federal agencies in complying with Section 106 review. Although most early survey and registration work was directed toward properties displaying exceptional architectural design or associated with prominent individuals, in recent years state historic preservation offices have placed greater emphasis on vernacular buildings and on large thematic and district nominations that reflect broader patterns of historical and cultural significance.

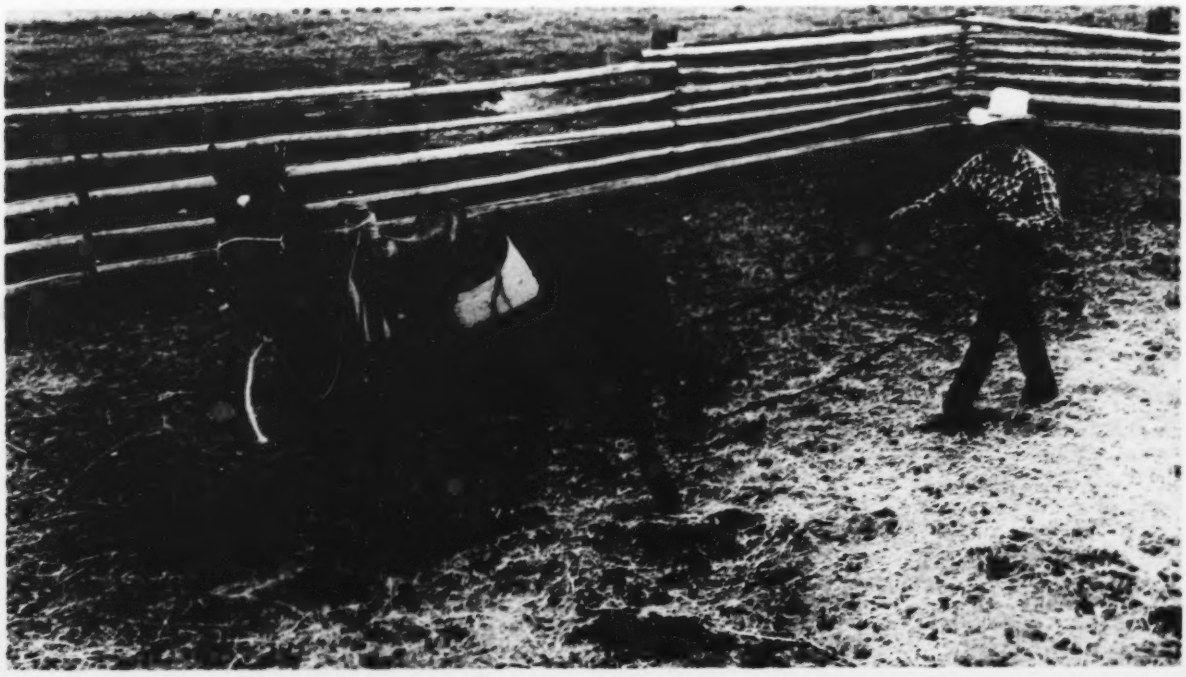
The broadening of the purview of historic preservation, together with a desire for improved planning and administration, led the Park Service to develop the systematic approach articulated in *Archeology and Historic Preservation: Secretary of the Interior's*

Standards and Guidelines (U.S. Department of the Interior 1983) and *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning* (U.S. Department of the Interior 1985). Both sets of guidelines stress the importance of creating and using historic contexts, statements that assemble "information about related historic properties, based on a theme, geographic limits, and chronological period," for example, "Coal Mining in Northeastern Pennsylvania between 1860 and 1930" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1983: 44718). A statement of historic context provides an intellectual frame of reference for identifying and evaluating properties, ensuring that information is organized to elicit clear patterns of significance.

Despite the attention to context, the focus of historic preservation has remained on properties, neglecting other elements of culture, both tangible and intangible. Culture itself, of course, consists of knowledge and values, and is therefore fundamentally intangible. But it is expressed in many ways. A fisherman's house or workboat are tangible expressions, and his stories and occupational skills are intangible expressions, of the culture of his community. The policy study *Cultural Conservation: The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United States* provides a useful account of governmental attention to cultural expressions other than properties, and describes their potential relationships to the historic preservation movement. *Cultural Conservation* uses the term *folklife* to name community life and values (culture itself) as well as its tangible and intangible expressions, and cites the definition found in the American Folklife Preservation Act of 1976: "expressive culture includes a wide range of creative and symbolic forms such as custom, belief, technical skill, language, literature, art, architecture, music, play, dance, drama, ritual, pageantry, handicraft...."

The preservation instinct in folklife research has been strong. Traditions, like old buildings, are vulnerable to the effects of changing national and world trends, and even as folklorists broadened their focus from the survivals of pre-industrial culture to folklife within contemporary society, they maintained a protective posture. Folklorists have actively encouraged the preservation of cultural expressions through publishing and teaching and by celebrating certain art forms. Folk festivals and exhibits, which typically involve folklorists and governmental programs concerned with folk culture, have fostered the continuation of many forms of cultural activity. Similarily, many of the books, articles, films, video productions, and phonograph records folklorists have produced have stimulated regional and ethnic traditions, and their documentation projects have led to community-based preservation efforts.

Attention has been paid to folklife by certain branches of government. At the federal level, folklife programs include the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, the Office of Folklife Programs at the Smithsonian Institution, and the Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. At the state level, folklorists are found in folk arts programs at state arts councils and in a variety of other capacities in historical societies, museums, and other cultural agencies.



Milt Oman breaking a young horse. Oman's long lead rein is a twisted horsehair rope called a macardy. (Carol Edison; GCCS CEB-25567/22)

There are interesting asymmetries in the development of the various networks devoted to preservation. The historic preservation movement has enjoyed a legal framework and a formal relationship between federal and state agencies; in the field of folklife the federal-state relationships have been informal and less clearly established. Historic preservation at the governmental level has relied heavily upon regulation, documentation, and planning. Governmental efforts in folklife have included documentation programs and a wide variety of programs to encourage folk cultural traditions through public presentation, exhibition, and publication, but have not often involved regulation or planning.

For this report, the most striking asymmetries have to do with field documentation surveys. Surveys carried out by historic preservation offices are generally limited to sites and properties, but they are designed to offer comprehensive coverage of entire states. Taken together, the surveys conducted by folklife programs have examined a broad range of expressive culture, tangible as well as intangible, but different cultural forms have been examined in different locations and from different perspectives. In only a few

cases has an entire state been canvassed, and without a coherent national system the findings of these surveys cannot easily be compared.

Pondering these asymmetries, the authors of this document and their sponsoring agencies hoped to develop a model for folklife field surveys that can be integrated with historic preservation surveys. In discussion, the idea of ethnography emerged, understood as a relatively comprehensive description of community life. Since folklife research tends to focus on items and genres of expressive culture and the contexts in which they are found, a folklife-oriented ethnography could be written if a broad enough range of expressive items and contexts were documented. Research in any given area would attempt to sample the several parts and levels of a community in a systematic way. And if the research paid particular attention to the history of expressive items and the changes in their contexts, the resulting ethnography would be an excellent counterpoint for the reports resulting from historic preservation research.

In amending the National Historic Preservation Act in 1980, Congress acknowledged that current preservation programs limited their activities to properties and called for a report to recommend strategies for the broader coverage of America's cultural heritage. The resulting report, *Cultural Conservation,* recommended that "folklife and related traditional lifeways be included among the cultural resources recognized by the National Historic Preservation Act," which would extend to folklife the same treatment afforded properties in federal cultural-resource planning (Loomis 1983: v). The report does not contemplate a National Register of Folk Arts and Artists. It suggests, however, that folklife documentation be used to provide information about local culture for use in federal review and compliance procedures.

A steering committee from the American Folklife Center and the National Park Service was established in 1984 to help implement *Cultural Conservation*'s administrative recommendations. The committee noted that "intangible cultural resources" could be added to the list of eligible areas of activity for state historic preservation offices, and that the survey process provided the best opportunity for incorporating folklife into the existing preservation system. In short, a type of integrated survey was contemplated.

The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey experimented with the form and content of such a survey, integrating a number of topics and approaches. It surveyed the community's architectural and folklife resources, it examined the tangible and intangible aspects of culture, and it benefited from the research efforts of folklorists, historians, and architectural historians. Although the project tried to create a new model—the integrated cultural survey described below—it also took advantage of the experience of previous preservation surveys, generally following the procedures outlined in *Archeology and Historic Preservation: Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines* (U.S. Department of the Interior 1983). According to the *Standards and Guidelines,* a survey is but one facet of a more encompassing evaluative process that forms the basis of planning. The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey adopted this preservation-oriented definition, but

Folklorist Carol Edison documents doughnut making in Kathleen Tanner's kitchen. (Carl Fleischnauer; GCCS CFB-231196-16/35A-36)

with one important addition: folklife resources enjoyed equal status with historic properties.

Folklife cannot be documented in the abstract; field researchers must discover specific instances. The goal of ethnography, however, pushes folklife research toward the enumeration and assessment of categories of expressive culture. For example, it is more important for the researcher to know that the genre of fiddle-playing thrives than to know that the fiddlers' repertory includes the tune "Arkansas Traveler." Understanding a community's culture depends more on assessing the prevalence of a complex of cowboy skills than on identifying one virtuoso with a reata. And, as a practical matter, the range and complexity of culture is too great to permit the cataloging of individual items in a comprehensive way.

The search for categories of expression in ethnographic folklife research contrasts with the approach taken by historic preservation surveys, which seek to identify specific

sites, buildings, structures, and objects in order to facilitate future preservation planning. The category at its broadest level—properties—is well known, and a variety of prehistoric cultural categories and historical and stylistic architectural categories have been established. The surveyor's task is the identification of specific instances.

Although the Grouse Creek project was intended to be a prototype of an integrated cultural survey, its underlying structure was not entirely clear in the field. Like most human endeavors, some aspects of the Grouse Creek work were shaped on the run. The next few paragraphs will outline the ideal integrated survey that emerged during the post-fieldwork evaluation.

Phase I. **Preliminary Research and Fieldwork Planning.** This phase consists of *archival research,* a *preliminary field visit,* and creation of a *research plan.* This phase assembles background historical and cultural information. Since the field investigation will incorporate interviews, the archival research should examine available demographic information in order to determine a reasonable cross-section of people for interviewing. Since the interviews will identify a wide range of cultural features, this phase should also develop a *checklist of cultural features* to be used in the initial series of interviews and a *list of expected property types* to guide the study of the built environment and the identification of historic structures. Finally, the preliminary planning phase includes drafting *preliminary statements of historic and cultural contexts,* which will be refined or modified during the field investigation.

Phase II. **The Field Investigation.** The fieldwork phase consists of two separately organized portions: *an architectural survey* and a *folklife survey.* The architectural survey begins with a reconnaisance of the entire area in order to provide a broad picture of the types and styles of buildings and the character of various neighborhoods, and subsequently identifies significant buildings and sites and documents them in detail. The documentation should be thorough enough to permit registration in the National Register or a state or local equivalent. Many useful procedures and suggestions for such surveys are provided in *Guidelines for Local Surveys* (U.S. Department of the Interior 1985).

The folklife survey covers both tangible and intangible cultural features. Although many forms of field research, especially those with ethnography as a goal, combine observing and interviewing, the compass of a survey project allows only a small amount of observation and demands extensive use of the interview. Thus the first portion of the folklife survey consists of a round of interviews with persons who match the cross-section of the population developed during the research design. Acquaintances made during a visit to a local official, store, or public event will introduce the researcher to others, and soon a group for interviewing may be selected. A study of cultural heritage—especially a survey to be conducted in a short time span—will benefit from interviews with persons who are knowledgeable and articulate; thus the sample should not be selected at random.

Stockade fencing at the Warburton Ranch, site OGC 20. (Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25591/7)

The reconnaissance round of interviews should discover the presence or absence of most of the cultural features outlined on the list of features, permitting the folklife researcher to identify promising topics and persons for a series of intensive interviews. The goal of the intensive study is to elicit fuller information about potentially significant features, describe the contexts in which they occur, determine their history, and assess their vitality. Here, it may be possible to combine some observation with interviewing.

Although one is inclined to think of the post-fieldwork phase as the period when analysis and synthesis take place, the process actually begins during research design and flourishes during the field investigation. If the research is undertaken by a team, the joint effort can have an interactive dynamic that promotes a collective understanding of the survey area. The researchers share their discoveries and suggest new ideas and avenues for exploration to their colleagues at work, over meals, and in shared quarters. Informal exchanges can be supplemented, of course, by scheduled meetings.

Phase III. **Analysis and Preparation of Reports.** The survey produces three types of products: a narrative describing the survey's findings, condensed summary statements of context based upon the information in the narrative, and an archive of field materials. In Grouse Creek, the narrative took the form of an *inventory of historic properties* and a separate *profile of cultural features.* Since an integrated survey produces a narrative that is ethnographic as well as historical, the summaries are *statements of historic and cultural context.* These products and the third, the *project archive,* are described in the following paragraphs.

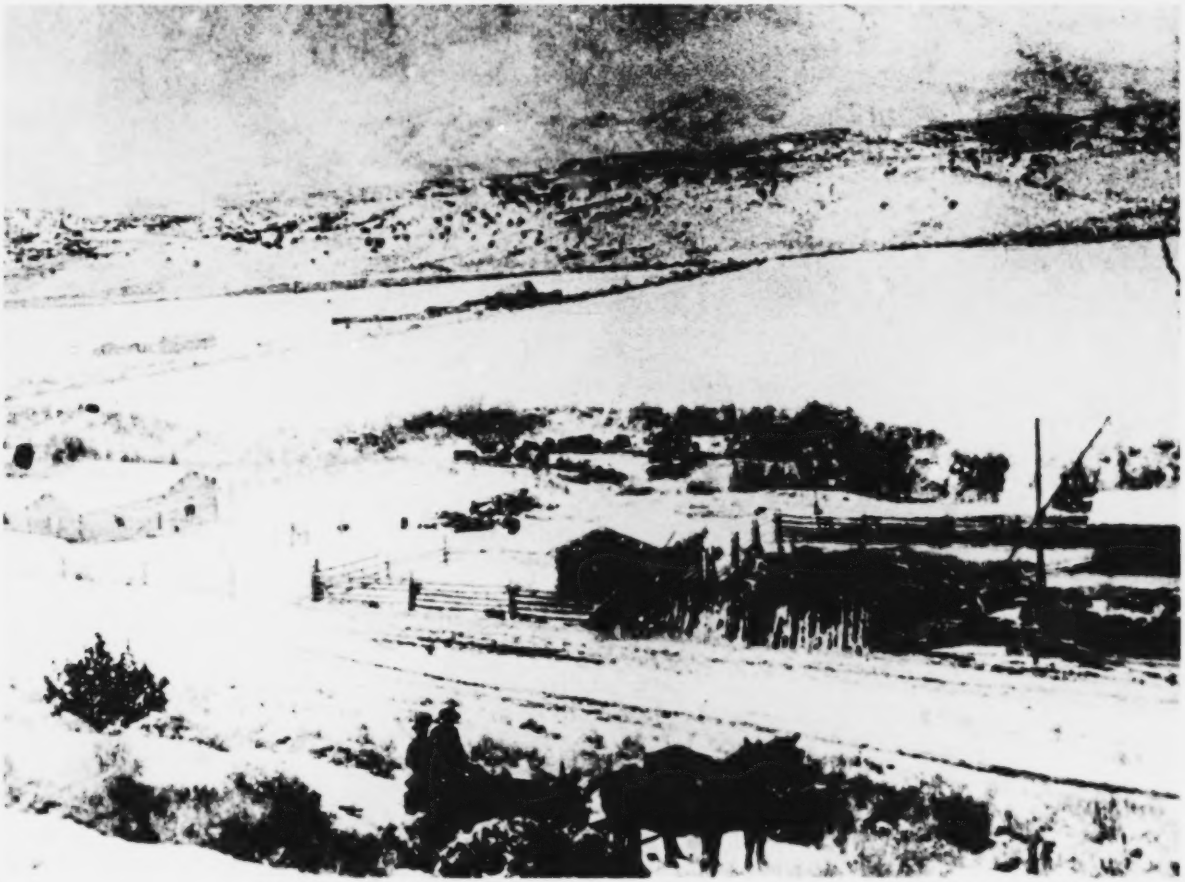
The narrative's inventory of historic properties begins with a description of the area's architecture in its historical setting, characterizing the principal types of buildings in terms of form, use, and historic period and citing a number of examples for illustrative purposes. It also mentions relevant aspects of geography and topography. The narrative is followed by a list of the sites that received detailed documentation, noting their eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places.

The narrative's profile of cultural features describes the area's culture, paying special attention to the historical dimension of present-day activities. This historic-ethnographic presentation delineates various spheres of community life and discusses the presence and vitality of various folklife genres, genre complexes, and other elements of culture associated with each sphere.

The statements of historic and cultural context summarize the narrative according to the formula recommended in the *Standards and Guidelines.* The statements cover various facets of life in the survey area, called *themes,* and relate these to specific places and periods. Selected historic properties and cultural features are listed as illustrations of resources that may be evaluated within the context.

The archive contains the materials created by the project: items gathered during the research design phase; the notes, drawings, photographs, and sound recordings generated by the field investigation; and all the reports and findings compiled during the analysis phase. The archive's materials support the survey's findings, permit independent evaluation of the findings, and serve as a source of information for the community and future researchers.

As the concluding section of this report demonstrates, the benefits of an integrated survey extend beyond the state historic preservation office's customary planning efforts. The reports and the archive can help the preservation office, the arts council, and other organizations to plan and carry out activities to conserve culture through encouragement and presentation. The archive can be a special aid to future research efforts by local citizens and scholars. Naturally, access to the archive will be best served by placing it in an appropriate public institution.



John T. Betteridge ranch, site 37, ca. 1900. This typical early Grouse Creek ranch includes a dirt-roofed house (far left), a horse corral, a stable, a feed lot for cattle, a hay stacker, and a barn arranged along the road. The corral and feed lot are enclosed by pole fences. (Courtesy of Raida Kimber; GCCS TCB-90105/17)

The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey

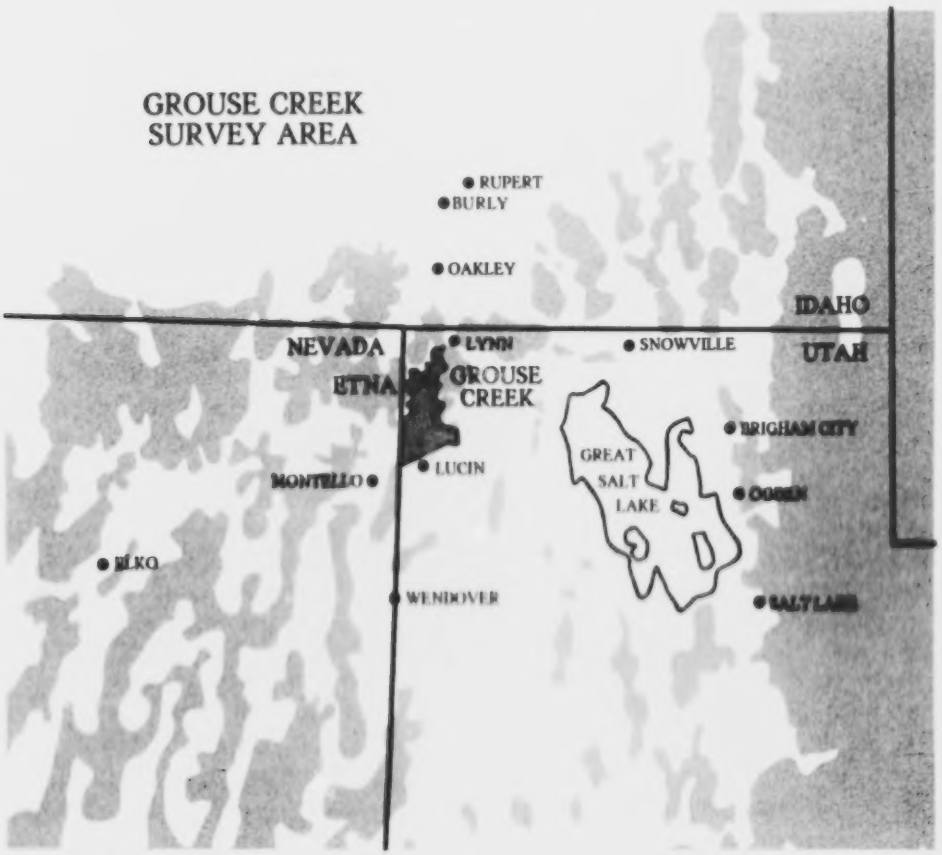
The idea of a demonstration project to integrate folklife and historic preservation emerged during a meeting of state historic preservation officers in Washington, D.C., in March 1985. Tom Carter, a folklorist working for the Utah State Historic Preservation Office, Ted Pochter of the National Park Service, and Alan Jabbour and Carl Fleischhauer from the American Folklife Center talked over the shape and direction of such a survey. Since it was unlikely that any state folk arts or preservation agency would undertake such a project single-handedly, cooperation was essential. A long record of good relations between historians and folklorists suggested Utah as a possible site for the project.

Upon his return to Salt Lake City, Carter found that Kent Powell, preservation research coordinator at the Utah State Historic Preservation Office, and Hal Cannon, folk arts coordinator at the Utah Arts Council, were interested. The two agencies had planned to conduct field surveys during the upcoming summer months and agreed that their efforts could be coordinated to produce a collective cultural statement. The preservation office would contribute an architectural historian and a historian, and the folk arts program would provide two folklorists. The American Folklife Center agreed to provide a project coordinator and documentation equipment and to bear certain administrative costs. Each agency would pay for their fieldworkers' travel expenses and supplies. In addition, the National Park Service helped pay the production costs of this publication, and the Fife Folklore Archive at Utah State University agreed to house the project archive. As planning continued, Hal Cannon left the Utah Arts Council to form the non-profit Western Folklife Center, and this organization was selected to serve as the administrative home for the field survey.

The decision to conduct the survey in Grouse Creek was based upon the work plan already in place at the state historic preservation office. The project would take its place with other surveys of the architecure of the settlement and post-settlement periods; a separate series of archeological surveys examine the state's prehistoric sites. Previous architectural surveys in Utah had concentrated on the Mormon farming communities along the Wasatch Front and the preservation plan called for the office to turn its attention to the outlying ranching areas in the eastern and western parts of the state. Within these larger areas the community of Grouse Creek stood out as a likely project location. It was in a self-contained valley, limiting naturally the extent of the work while containing sufficient resources to warrant a full-scale effort. The community's size and cultural

homogeneity would make it ideal for testing new survey methods, although these same qualities meant that a survey conducted there might be imperfect as a model for the larger and culturally more diverse areas covered by most historic preservation and folklife surveys.

The work was planned in three phases. During the first phase the coordinator would conduct archival research, prepare a work plan, and make logistical arrangements. The second phase would be the actual field investigation, lasting three to four weeks and involving the entire team. The third phase, once again the responsibility of the coordinator, was to prepare the products: the inventory of historic sites, the profile of cultural features, and the summary statements of historic and cultural contexts.



Grouse Creek Survey Area

Preliminary Research and a Plan for Fieldwork

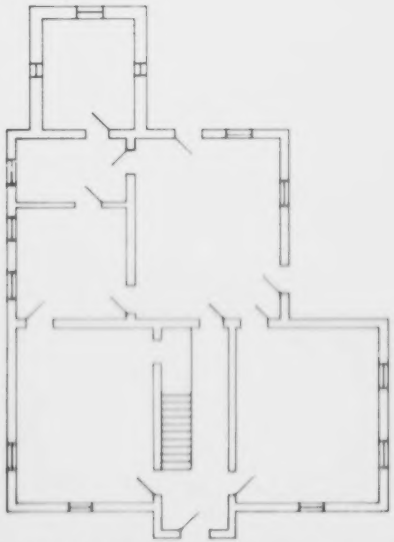
After archival research and a preliminary visit to Grouse Creek, Carter assembled an overview of the community's history; a summary of previous research pertaining to the area; a listing of expected property types; a demographic profile to establish a cross-section of the population for interviewing; a checklist of expected folklife genres; and a draft of the summary statements of historic and cultural context. He also developed a work schedule and made final local arrangements for the survey team.

The archival research did not produce a wealth of information. Grouse Creek is encountered rarely in the written record, consuming only a few pages in the general histories of Box Elder County. The most valuable source was an extensive oral history compiled during 1973-76 by Jay Haymond of the Utah State Historical Society and Verna Kimber Richardson, a former Grouse Creek resident now living in Bountiful, Utah. Additional insight into the town's history was gleaned from the census records, the cadastral maps at the Bureau of Land Management, and preliminary field visits by Carter and others in April and May. During these visits researchers informally interviewed the postmaster and various people at the store, photographed particularly eye-catching sites, and documented several log buildings. The entire phase occupied about ten working days, most of which fell during the two-week period prior to the field survey.

The broad overview offered by the archival research begins with a thumbnail description of prehistory and a glimpse of the arriving Mormon settlers. Grouse Creek's first inhabitants were the Archaic and Fremont peoples that occupied much of the Great Basin country between 7000 B.C. and A.D. 1400. By the twelfth century, bands of Northern Shoshone began to appear in the valley, attracted by abundant game and stands of piñon pine, the source of the sweet nuts that were so important to the nomadic diet. These Numic-speaking peoples were annual visitors to Grouse Creek, and after 1875 found themselves sharing the valley with members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Mormons. The area was attractive to the Mormons because of its good livestock range and the general availability of land. Cattle ranching became the chief occupation, and as white settlement became established, the Northern Shoshone were forced onto the government reservation near Blackfoot, Idaho.

The Mormon population was and remains relatively homogeneous. Virtually all Grouse Creek settlers were American or English members of the Latter-day Saint church. In 1900 the population was 278; after reaching a high of 337 in 1920, the community remained relatively stable through the 1940s. After World War II, however, out-migration began and in 1985 there were only about one hundred people living in thirty-five households. These figures meant that the cross-section to be interviewed during the first phase of the folklife field investigation could be relatively small; ten individuals would represent 10 percent of the population. The lack of ethnic, occupational, or religious diversity meant that the population "types" to be sampled were few.

Three age-related headings for prospective informants were established: first, those in their seventies and eighties who were familiar with the community's older traditions; second, those between the ages of thirty-five and sixty who had grown up with the old ways but had experienced the many changes of the postwar period; and third, those under thirty-five who knew Grouse Creek only in recent times. Within these broad headings, the additional factors determining the interview sample were gender and occupation.



Allen N. Tanner house, site 6. Tanner, one of Grouse Creek's first settlers, was a prosperous rancher who built this brick house in 1905. Its floorplan is a variant of the type called "I house" by architectural historians—two rooms wide, one room deep, and two stories high. The Tanner house has a central passage and a substantial rear ell that includes a kitchen. Houses of this type and size are symbols of economic achievement in the Mormon region and elsewhere in the United States. The Tanner house was abandoned in 1947 after it sustained damage in an earthquake. The property is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. (Photograph: Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-16/5A-6. First floor plan: Roger Roper)

Previous architectural research in the Grouse Creek area consisted only of the preparation of forms nominating two sites to the National Register of Historic Places. The Allen N. Tanner house, a large brick central-passage house constructed in 1905, was listed on the National Register in 1982, and the local Latter-day Saint tithing granary was listed in 1985 as part of a statewide thematic nomination compiled by the Utah State Historic Preservation Office. Because comprehensive studies of vernacular

architecture in Utah have concentrated on the early (1847-70) Mormon farming settlements along the Wasatch Front, there are no specific studies on the architecture of Great Basin ranching.

The preliminary field visits indicated that several main property types could be expected in the field: buildings associated with Mormon settlement and culture, ranch houses, and ranching structures such as outbuildings and corrals. Because the state preservation office had little previous experience with the architecture of ranching, surveyors could not rely upon previous experience and would have to identify specific building types and styles as they were encountered.

A canvass of prior folklife research from Grouse Creek showed it to be as scant as historical and architectural data. In the early 1970s, a student at the University of Utah assembled a brief collection of Grouse Creek folklore. Several general surveys of Mormon folklore—notably Austin and Alta Fife's *Saints of Sage and Saddle* (Fife and Fife 1956) and Jan Brunvand's *Guide For Collectors of Folklore in Utah* (Brunvand 1971), and a series of journal articles by William A. Wilson (Wilson 1976a, 1976b, 1981)—proved useful in gaining an impression of the kinds of folklore, folk arts, and folklife the research team might encounter.

These sources and the preliminary visits suggested the presence of a variety of traditions ranging from an old-time dance orchestra to traditional ways of cowboying. The American Folklife Center's *Folklife and Fieldwork* (Bartis 1978) and Jan Brunvand's *The Study of American Folklore* (Brunvand 1968) were useful in identifying general topics. The folklife checklist for Grouse Creek listed cultural features under the headings of history and geography, occupational life, religious life, social life, and artistic life (see page 21).

Not surprisingly, the themes of religion and ranching quickly emerged from the historical data, and the draft statements of historic and cultural contexts included "late nineteenth-century Mormon town planning," "the livestock industry in western Box Elder County," and "early log architecture in Grouse Creek."

An essential element of planning the field investigation was making local arrangements and seeking the cooperation of the community's authorities. Grouse Creek, like many small, unincorporated Utah towns, has no elected officials, but the Mormon bishop and his counselors fill the leadership role. The bishop in Grouse Creek was a rancher named Douglas Tanner, and Carter met with him to describe the project. A student of local history himself, Bishop Tanner not only approved the work but ultimately became one of the main sources of information on ranching traditions in the area.

Other arrangements reflected Grouse Creek's isolation. Although the valley is located just 150 miles northwest of Salt Lake City, direct access is blocked by the Great Salt Lake and by mountains that surround it on three sides. None of the roads entering the community are paved, and the roads from the north and east cross several mountain passes that are closed from November until June. There are no motels or

tion to the area, and during the second and third weeks the documentation effort proceeded in a disciplined way. The field team consisted of a core group of five full-time researchers and one consultant. Thomas Carter, the project coordinator and a full-time fieldworker, was present for all three weeks. His training and experience meant that he could contribute to both architectural and folklife fieldwork. Debbie Randall and Roger Roper from the Utah State Historic Preservation Office conducted research in architectural history and documented the properties identified during the survey. Randall, an architectural historian, was present for all three weeks; historian Roper was present for the second and third weeks. Folklorists Carol Edison of the Utah Arts Council and Hal Cannon of the Western Folklife Center documented the area's folklife. Edison was present the first and third weeks; Cannon was present for all three weeks. Carl Fleischhauer of the American Folklife Center contributed to final planning and logistics and assisted in training the team in media documentation. He was present for the first week. Altogether, the field investigation benefited from a total of fourteen "people-weeks" of field research.

The activities of the survey team were generally divided according to expertise: the preservation historians concentrated on the buildings and the folklorists on other cultural features. But one important goal of the effort was the integration of knowledge, and the plan called for as much sharing of information as possible. In part this was accomplished by the living and dining arrangements, but it was also furthered by a pair of cooperative documentation events at the beginning of the field period.

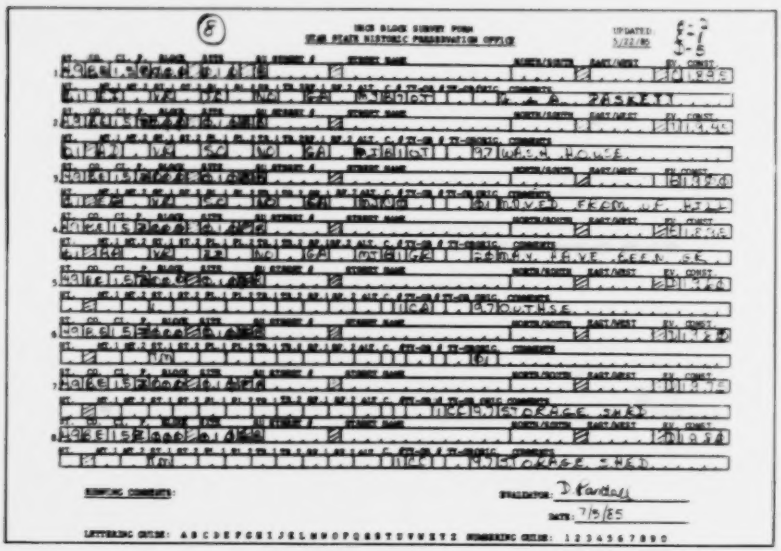
The first was a guided tour of the Frost Ranch (site 52) by Winfred Kimber, an eighty-seven-year-old rancher. During a reconnaissance visit, the ranch had been identified as a typical and well-preserved example. Mr. Kimber was well versed in local history, architecture, and custom, and the occasion launched the team fully into the mainstream of the project. The team asked questions about the various buildings, their functions, names, and dates, and generally got a feeling for the types of buildings in the area and for local terminology. This information proved useful in developing a typology for the architectural survey. The tour also served as an introduction to the folklife of the area by providing important information about ranching customs, the yearly work cycle, and other aspects of Grouse Creek life. Carter, Randall, and Edison returned and made measured drawings of the ranch site and its buildings.

Further immersion into the community occurred on July 6, when the team, still working together, documented the community's annual Independence Day celebration. The community scheduled the event two days after the official national holiday in order to place it on a Saturday. Activities included a parade, baseball game, foot race, rodeo, dance, and various family reunions. Former residents, relatives, and descendants attended the affair, which took on the aspect of a community homecoming. One couple scheduled their wedding reception for the day in order to take advantage of the presence of many former community members.

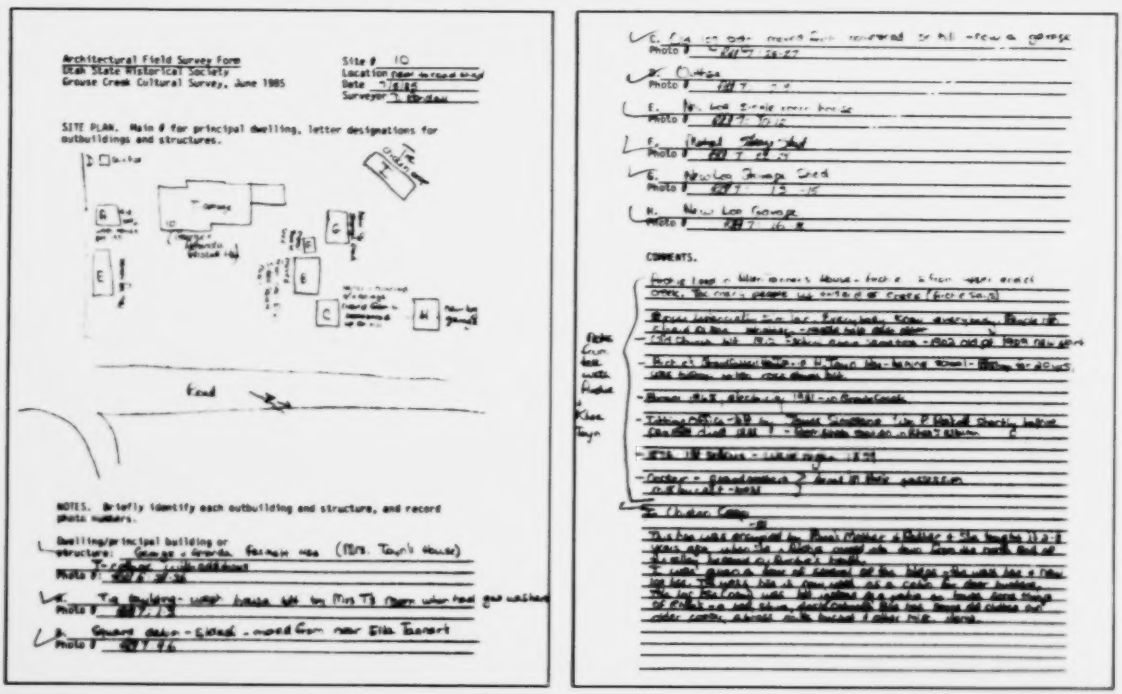
Touring the Edward Frost Ranch, site 52. Left to right: Verna Kimber Richardson and Winfred Kimber with fieldworkers Tom Carter, Debbie Randall, and Carl Fleischhauer. (Carol Edison; GCCS CEB-25495/11)

The team did not document architecture at the celebration, although observing the use of the school, rodeo grounds, main street, and church contributed to everyone's understanding of those sites. Instead, the purpose of the day's fieldwork was to become acquainted with as many townspeople and visitors as possible, not only for the sake of an overview, but also to identify ten individuals who matched the population cross-section for the initial series of folklife interviews.

After the Independence Day celebration, the architectural survey began in earnest. Randall and Roper spent eight days carrying out their reconnaissance of all existing properties, recording their discoveries on two forms. The first was an encoding form that the Utah historic preservation office normally uses to computerize its survey data, and which records information on integrity, height, materials, style, plan, roof shape, alterations, and original use. The second form provides room for general comments on individual sites and for sketching site plans. Although not drawn to scale, the architectural historians' sketches of ranch sites provide a general layout showing the dwellings in relation to ensembles of outbuildings. The outbuildings were considered to contribute



Utah Historic Computer System Reconnaissance Survey Form



Grouse Creek survey Architectural Field Survey Form

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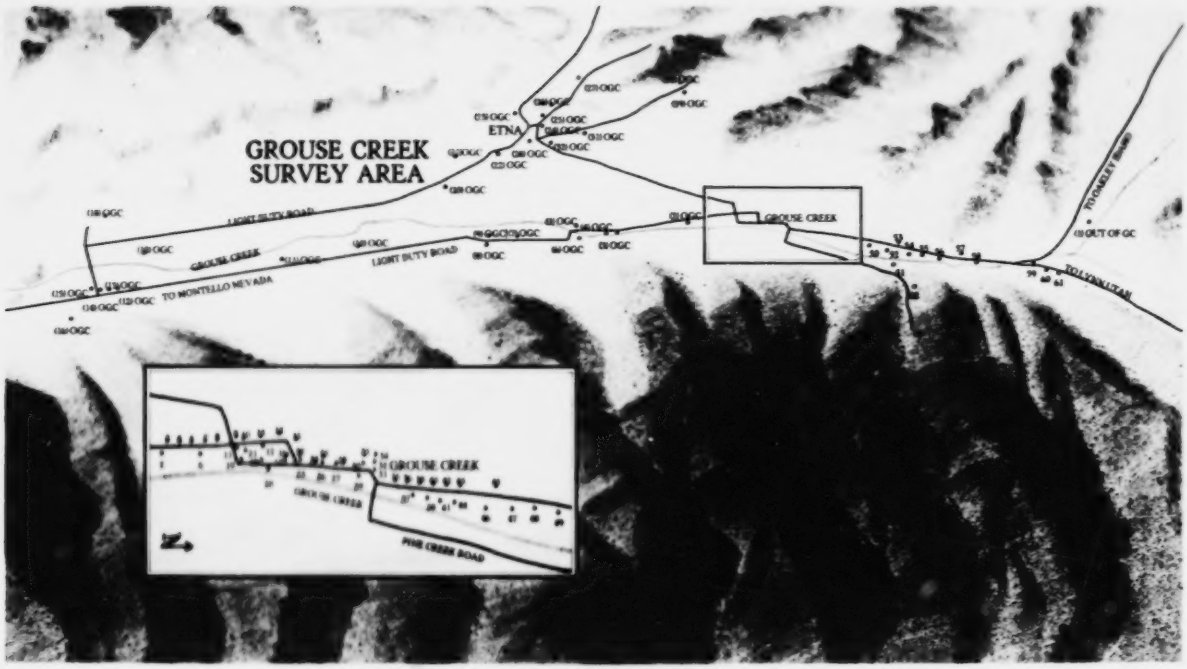


Grouse Creek survey area. The numbers indicate the locations of sites documented by the survey team. The sites outside the town of Grouse Creek are prefixed OGC. (Drawing: Trav Winn)

to the significance of the houses they were associated with, and were labeled with the letters a,b,c, etc. Fences and corrals were drawn without being inventoried. At this initial stage, buildings warranting further attention and documentation were identified; determinations of significance occurred later.

The architectural survey was conducted in two areas. One area was the town of Grouse Creek. These sites received GC (Grouse Creek) designations. Since Grouse Creek is unincorporated, the team established a boundary for the town by following the natural clustering of houses along the main street. The southern limit is the Simplot Company corrals (site 2), while the northern line is drawn just beyond the Oakley and Lynn junction (sites 61). The town survey also included the ranch sites along Pine Creek to the east (sites 62 and 63). The second survey area was the valley outside the town. These sites received an OGC (outside Grouse Creek) number. The southern limit of this larger area is Route 30, the road between Park Valley and Montello, Nevada. The western, eastern, and northern boundary is the 5,600 foot elevation along the foothills. All sites were plotted on U.S. Geological Survey quadrangle maps.

The initial round of the architectural survey identified over four hundred buildings and structures, ninety-four of which were considered potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. Randall and Roper made color photographs of all the principal buildings and outbuildings inside Grouse Creek, and all the sites outside the town boundaries that appeared to be eligible for nomination to the register. They were able to complete the architectural survey within the three-week time period, with some assistance from Carter in the area around Etna during the third week. A list of sites was drawn up, grouping the structures by type and construction material, and representative buildings were selected for the second, intensive round of work.

During the intensive portion of the architectural fieldwork, the selected examples received thorough documentation. The structures were photographed in black-and-white and color, and measured floor-plan drawings were made. Histories of the structures were compiled by examining the field data, researching written sources, and conducting interviews with owners or other knowledgeable persons. Altogether, this information revealed important facts about specific properties and general patterns of community development, and helped establish the team's sense of the significant periods in Grouse Creek's history.

The folklorists also began their reconnaissance-level fieldwork after the Independence Day celebration. Cannon, Edison, and Carter used the general checklist of cultural features and genres to guide their initial interviews, but found that two things prevented them from proceeding in the orderly way proposed in the survey model. First, the dynamics of each interview meant that the interview subjects offered elaborated discussion of certain items, and this elaborated discussion was too important to be cut off. Thus, an interview of one or two hours—the typical limit before fatigue sets in—sometimes concluded before the checklist had been exhausted. Second, since the interviewer's general sense of the community's culture formed before the initial series of interviews had been completed, more pointed questioning began earlier than expected. The checklist, however, proved useful, and by analyzing most of the interviews as a group, the coordinator has been able to find data that bears on all listed items.

The initial round of tape-recorded interviews included the following individuals:

1. Ella Tanner, housewife and mother (82)
2. Winfred Kimber, rancher, county employee, and father (87)
3. Max Tanner, rancher and father (62)
4. Melissa Tanner, housewife and mother (63)

Folklife Survey Checklist

I A Sense of Place
- A Family History
- B Geography
- C Climate
- D Human Geography
  - 1 Naming landscape features
  - 2 Stories and legends

II Occupation
- A Making a living
  - 1 Ranching
  - 2 Mining
  - 3 Other
- B Techniques and Skills
  - 1 How did you learn
  - 2 The yearly cycle of work
  - 3 Grazing patterns/holdings
  - 4 Water and irrigation
  - 5 Material culture
- C Entertainments
  - 1 Stories
  - 2 Songs
  - 3 Music
  - 4 Other

III Community Life
- A The Mormon Religion
  - 1 History of the Church
  - 2 Famous local members
  - 3 Customs
  - 4 Calendar customs
  - 5 Raised in the Church
  - 6 Faith promoting stories
  - 7 Missionary life
  - 8 Institutions and Organizations
  - 9 Church services
- B Community Traditions
- C Social Relations

IV Domestic Life
- A The Household
  - 1 Use of space
  - 2 Gender divisions within the house
- B Foodways
  - 1 Source of food
  - 2 Preparation
  - 3 Everyday fare
  - 4 Special occasions
  - 5 History and changes
- C Family Traditions

V Artistic Genres Checklist
- A Verbal Folklore
  - 1 Folk Speech
  - 2 Proverbs
  - 3 Riddles
  - 4 Rhymes
  - 5 Legends
  - 6 Personal Experience Narratives
  - 7 Ballads and songs
- B Partially Verbal Folklore
  - 1 Customs and Festivals
  - 2 Superstitions
  - 3 Dance
  - 4 Drama and recitation
  - 5 Games
- C Non-verbal Folklore
  - 1 Gestures
  - 2 Music
  - 3 Architecture
  - 4 Crafts
  - 5 Dress, Costumes

Grouse Creek survey checklist of folklife expressions

Doug Tanner—a rancher and the bishop of Grouse Creek's Latter-day Saint congregation—being interviewed at home by folklorist Hal Cannon. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-11/30)

5. Verna Kimber Richardson, housewife and mother (52)
6. Marge Thompson, housewife and mother (59)
7. Hugh Thompson, rancher, county employee, and father (61)
8. Doug Tanner, rancher and father (41)
9. Kathleen Tanner, housewife and mother (41)
10. Milt Oman, rancher and father (35)

During the same period, but without tape recording, interviews were conducted with Charles Kimber, 67, Bill Thomas, 68, and Jeff Thomas, 25.

Although the dividing line between initial and intensive interviews was not as clear-cut as planned, the folklorists did progress to interviews that developed information

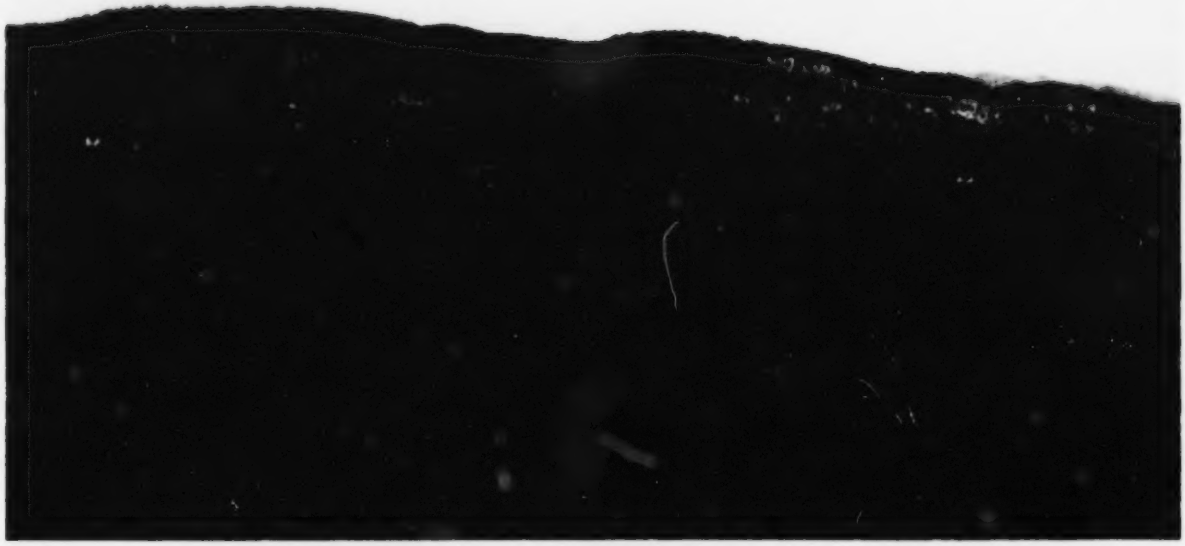
about key subjects in more detail. Hal Cannon pursued matters connected with ranching and buckaroo life, while Carol Edison sought an overview of domestic life and the contribution of women to community life. This work involved some observation and the interviewing of fifteen key subjects. Both fieldworkers developed topical checklists similar to the general survey form; these checklists made their fieldwork more systematic. Their interview subjects were:

1. George Betteridge, rancher and father (82)
2. Therma Betteridge, housewife and mother (77)
3. Wallace Betteridge, rancher and father (79)
4. Oren Kimber, rancher and father (75)
5. Opal Kimber, housewife and mother (66)
6. Raida Kimber, housewife and mother (73)
7. Jack Kimber, rancher and father (55)
8. Lyman Kimber, rancher, school teacher, and father (68)
9. Fern Kimber, housewife and mother (55)
10. Betty Kimber, housewife and mother (32)
11. Harold Oman, rancher and father (82)
12. Kenna Tanner, housewife and mother (58)
13. Merlin Tanner, rancher and father (59)
14. Archie Toyn, farmer and father (75)
15. Rhea Toyn, postmaster, housewife, and mother (70).

Altogether, thirteen men and twelve women were recorded. There were thirteen interviews with persons aged sixty-five and above, ten with persons aged forty to sixty-four, and two with those aged forty or below. Although a number of interviews with young people were conducted without tape recording, this gap in age distribution represents the team's failure to match the proposed cross-section of the population.

The archive of raw data created by the survey includes approximately 400 pages of written information, 40 hours of sound recordings, 20 architectural and site drawings, black-and-white negatives representing 2,500 images, and 2,259 color slides. The written information includes fieldnotes, logs for sound recordings, and logs for photographic materials.

The core of the written documentation is each worker's fieldnotes, a daily journal of events, ideas, and impressions. The fieldnotes illuminate the other materials—not only noting which sites or individuals may have been visited but also offering preliminary interpretations and explanations. The written logs in the archive outline the contents of sound recordings and identify the subject matter of the still photographs. The folklife fieldworkers discovered that the written documentation required significantly more time to complete than was allocated by the project planners. A conservative estimate is that it takes a least one day per week to process fieldwork data; this time should be built into the project plan.



View across three typical Grouse Creek ranches toward the west. The property lines of many of the community's ranches form elongated rectangles that traverse the valley floor, and the ranches' dwellings, outbuildings, and corrals lie along the road that follows the western edge of the valley. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-18/4)

Culture and Context: The Survey's Findings

The post-fieldwork phase of the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey consisted of analysis of the findings and the creation of final products. The products have intrinsic interest, but they are presented here as examples of what an integrated survey can produce. In addition to the archive described at the end of the preceding section, the products include an inventory of properties, a profile of cultural features, and summary statements of historic and cultural contexts.

Inventory of Historic Properties

A total of 413 buildings and structures were identified in the Grouse Creek survey. Of these, 94 were principal buildings and 318 were outbuildings. The main property types were ranch houses, ranch-related structures, and educational, religious, commercial, and governmental (federal and county) buildings. There were 62 buildings eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, while 268 outbuildings were considered as contributing to the significance of these properties. The number of ineligible principal buildings—those which had received major alterations or were less than fifty years old—numbered 32, with 50 associated outbuildings. Most properties were constructed between about 1880 and 1940, 40 percent of which were built between 1905 and 1915.

The larger Nevada ranches to the west are dispersed; the ranches in Grouse Creek form a more contiguous grouping, probably reflecting the Mormon preference for a concentrated community. They range from fifty to one hundred acres and form a series of narrow horizontal strips spanning the valley from east to west. Buildings are situated along the road on the west side of the valley, and each ranch contains some irrigated bottom land. Further south past the Simplot corrals, the ranches thin out considerably. On the Etna road, they are found tucked up against the foothills along the principal drainages. Despite the distances—it is about fourteen miles from Jack Kimber's ranch (site OCG 18) to the old Cotton Thomas homestead site (OCG 1)—the settlement pattern implies a unified community rather than a collection of isolated and independent ranches.

Throughout the Great Basin, leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints directed their followers to live together and not scatter. But concentrated settlement did more than facilitate church attendance and community activities. The Mormons, like other nineteenth-century millenarian groups, anticipated the imminent

Looking southwest across upper Grouse Creek valley toward the Pilot Range in Nevada. Hayfields and meadows lie along the creek bottom. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-13/21)

restaurants in Grouse Creek, although one can find food and lodging in Park Valley, forty miles to the east, Oakley, Idaho, thirty miles to the north, and Montello, Nevada, sixty miles to the west.

The desire to maintain constant contact with the community motivated the coordinator to seek lodgings in Grouse Creek itself. In late May two vacant houses were rented, one for the women and another for the men. These accommodations contributed to the success of the work. In addition to reducing the commuting time, the team's presence in town promoted a feeling of trust and friendship that greatly facilitated access to the community. Since the nearest restaurant was an hour's drive away, good sense dictated finding a way to eat in Grouse Creek without taking on the burden of cooking. In June, Kathleen Tanner, the wife of Bishop Doug Tanner, agreed to provide a midday meal and evening sandwiches for a modest fee. The meals provided a tasty introduction to the local cuisine and were a welcome respite from the hot sun.

The Field Investigation

The three-week field survey began on July 3. The first week served as an introduc-

Second Coming of Christ and the creation of a Kingdom of God on earth. The Kingdom was not to be a random collection of homesteads; instead, it would stand as a series of planned communities where people lived together in righteousness and harmony. The earthly manifestation of the heavenly city was the nucleated farm village, a small gridiron town plan based loosely on the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith's *Plat of the City of Zion*. The Mormon village, as it is often called, became the cornerstone of Latter-day Saint settlement in the Great Basin. It is characterized by the concentration of people in town; the farmers commute to surrounding fields and pastures. The exigencies of cattle ranching perhaps precluded the implementation of such a circumscribed settlement type, and Grouse Creek does not have a gridiron plat. Yet Mormon ideals are visible. Grouse Creek may be described as a kind of "line" village; the ranches are laid out along a single road with their narrow ends facing the road. The line village provides, as geographer Lowry Nelson has pointed out, the advantage of having the "residence on the operated farm, while at the same time bringing the families as close and accessible to each other as possible" (Nelson 1952:19).

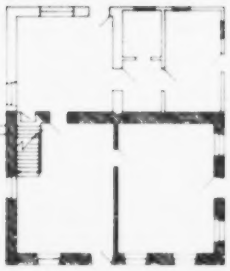
The heart of Grouse Creek is the Mormon meetinghouse, or chapel. Located about midway up the main valley on a rise at the northern end of town, the meetinghouse effectively symbolizes the religious identity of the community (site 31). A log building, constructed in the 1870s, was replaced by a large stone structure in the Victorian Gothic style in 1912, which was replaced in turn by a frame and masonry structure in 1984. In conversation today's residents express their admiration for the old stone church, but always allude to its deteriorated condition. Marge Thompson said, "I'm one that always lived here and grew up here and loved that building, had lots of good memories and the day they razed it was hard, but by the same token, I was just as anxious as the next one to have the new one built."

The nearest rival to the meetinghouse in the community's affection is the school (site 30). The citizens of the area place a high priority on education and take pride in the quality of the Grouse Creek school and its reputation for producing excellent students. The school, built in three sections between 1902 and 1912, currently offers classes from kindergarten through grade ten. Children attend high school in larger communities to the north and east.

The domestic architecture is overwhelmingly vernacular and best understood in terms of several specific house types. From the time of first settlement until at least the 1920s, traditional Utah housing forms such as the hall (or single-cell), double-pen, hall-parlor, and central-passage types were common. These houses are built in a variety of sizes and materials, generally with gable roofs, symmetrically composed facades, and rear kitchen ells. The most common early house was probably the single room or hall-plan type, although such small houses are likely now to be found embedded in subsequent layers of remodeling (sites 15 and OGC 23). Another important house from the initial settlement period is the double-pen type, consisting of two roughly square rooms.

The former meetinghouse for the Grouse Creek ward of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Victorian Gothic style was favored by Latter-day Saint architects in the years around 1912, when this chapel was built. It was demolished to make way for a new building in 1984. (Courtesy Rhea Toyn; GCCS HCB-25638/11)

View to the south across the 1984 Latter-day Saint meetinghouse and the town of Grouse Creek. This chapel is representative of contemporary Latter-day Saint architecture. The community school is located in the trees across the parking lot from the church. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-7/13)



Albert F. Richins house, site 19. Richins was born in Cheltenham, England, immigrated to Utah in 1872 and to Grouse Creek in 1877, and built this house of locally quarried limestone in 1903. Architectural historians call this floorplan "double pen" or "double cell," and, like most examples of the type, this house has a rear extension. (Photograph: Roger Roper; GCCS RRB-25558-28. First floor plan: Roger Roper.)

Double-pen houses are found in the South and Midwest as well as in Utah; in Grouse Creek they are generally built of log (sites 44, 53, and OGC 29), although the Albert Richins house (site 19) is a fine two-story stone example. Several three-room or triple-pen log houses identified in the survey (sites 50 and OGC 31) represent the conceptual expansion of the regular double-pen form.

By far the most numerous nineteenth-century Utah house type is the hall-parlor house. The hall-parlor form is characterized by an asymmetrical two-room plan behind a symmetrical three-bay facade. Curiously, such houses are not widespread in Grouse Creek. There are a few small log and frame examples (sites 14 and 42) and one particularly fine stone example built by the English immigrant Seth Fletcher (site 28). Scarce also is the central-passage house, another typical nineteenth-century folk form found elsewhere in Mormon Utah. The Allen N. Tanner and Charles Kimber houses (sites 6 and 40) are the two best examples; both date from around 1905. None of the nineteenth-century houses show any particular evidence of polygamy.

A house form built frequently during the first two decades of this century is the cross-wing (sites 38 and 44). Prominently displayed in the popular architectural literature of the nineteenth century, it is characterized by a narrow forward projecting section intersected at a right-angle by a wing in a T or L configuration. Grouse Creek also contains such houses with two projecting wings in an H shape (sites 41, 56, and 58). Other minor house types of the popular variety include the side-passage, the pyramid cottage, and the bungalow. The side-passage type has its narrow end facing the road with a small entrance passage located to one side on the front (site 23). The pyramid cottage has a more or less square plan beneath a hipped roof, and often an indented entrance on one side (sites 4, 22, 28, 33 and 45). The single-story bungalows have a longer rectangular plan and low-pitched hipped roofs (site 7). Not all the buildings in Grouse Creek are original to the area. During the 1920s the Southern Pacific Railroad closed its maintenance shop in Lucin, and a number of the abandoned houses of former workers were transported to Grouse Creek. A particularly impressive collection of railroad houses is part of the Warburton ranch (site OGC 20).

Each ranch is an ensemble of buildings comprised of a ranch house and a collection of outbuildings arranged behind or along one side of the dwelling. Outbuilding types include barns, animal shelters, granaries, chicken coops, outhouses, root cellars, tack sheds, silos, wash houses, garages, and various kinds of storage buildings. The researchers found it difficult to date these structures accurately, but generally assumed that log buildings were constructed during the period before 1900. Of course, log construction—especially of outbuildings—may have continued on a small scale after the first frame structures appeared in 1905 and even after railroad ties became a common building material in the 1920s.

Grouse Creek barns are almost all one-story rectangular buildings with gable roofs and a main door located on the long wall. Most are built of log. Granaries are square,

gabled, have the door in the narrow end, and are often built of railroad ties. Chicken coops are generally log or tie buildings with shed roofs, while root cellars are subterranean and have dirt roofs. Animal shelters often consist merely of hole-set poles supporting low-pitched dirt roofs. Other outbuildings are generally of frame or railroad ties, except for the metal silos that postdate 1940.

The percentages of buildings in terms of their principal construction material are listed below. Siding prevented the determination of material in 7 percent of the cases.

Wood	**Percent**
Frame	35
Log	31
Railroad tie	20
Total wood	86
Masonry	
Stone	6
Brick	1
Total masonry	7

During the initial settlement period from 1875-1900, buildings were typically constructed of log. The tree primarily used was "pine," the local name for Douglas fir, and timbers had to be dragged from Pine Creek Canyon to the east. The logs were stacked horizontally and the gaps between them chinked with boards and mud. They were typically joined with a saddle notch, although there are some square- and V-notched examples. In the period from 1900 to 1920, brick, stone, and frame generally replaced log as a building material. Saw mills were constructed in Pine Creek Canyon during the period, but the community never had a planing mill. Finished lumber had to be shipped in from the railroad towns of Lucin or Tecoma to the south. The first frame house was built for Charles Kimber in 1905 (site 40).

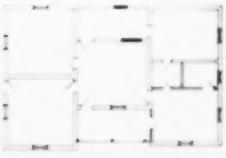
Gray sandstone from a quarry just west of the center of town was used in the construction of five houses (sites 19, 33, 48, OGC 22, and OGC 28), the Latter-day Saint tithing granary (site 21), two schools (sites 30 and OGC 25), and the second Latter-day Saint meetinghouse, now demolished. Two brick houses (sites 6 and 22) were built of locally produced brick around 1905. Railroad ties became an important building material during the 1920s after the Southern Pacific rail line was rerouted across the Great Salt Lake and the old tracks north of the lake were torn out and given away or sold very cheaply. Ties, stacked in rows and spiked at the butted corners, were commonly used in outbuildings, but several houses (sites 7, 32, 36, and 60) were also built of this scavenged material.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of early Grouse Creek architecture is what is locally called the "dirt roof" (sites 50, 52, and OGC 20). Dirt roofs are found on all early buildings and were still being used on new buildings as late as the 1920s. Dirt roofs con-

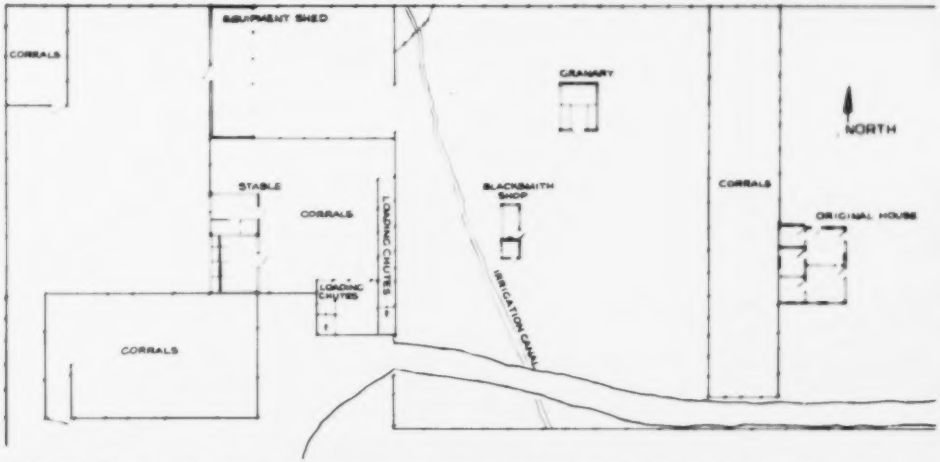
William Shaw house, site 50. Shaw was born in England and probably built this house during the 1880s. It has a triple-cell floorplan and the photograph of the east elevation shows the heavy purlins typical of early log buildings in Grouse Creek. (Photograph: Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25591/32. Floorplan: Roger Roper.)

Phillip Paskett house, site 14. Paskett, an immigrant from England, was a member of the original party of settlers in Grouse Creek. This hall-parlor structure replaced a one-room log house. (Photograph: Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25558/28. Floorplan: Roger Roper.)

Joseph Lee house, site 38. Built in 1911, the projecting gable marks this house as an example of the cross-wing type. (Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-90105/26)



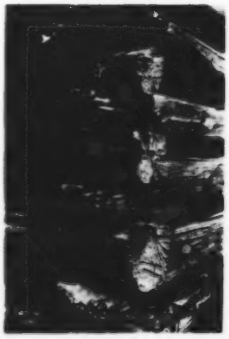
Cook-Blanthorn house, site 41. This double-cross-wing house with its floor plan in the form of an H was built for James Cook in 1910 and purchased by George Blanthorn in 1928. (Roger Roper)



Edward Frost ranch, site 52. (Photograph: Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25591/24. Site plan: Tom Carter)

sist of heavy horizontal purlins supported by end and interior log walls, then a retaining rail—either of boards or logs—set along the eaves and the raking eaves. Willow or aspen poles or boards were placed at a right angle across the purlins and covered with straw. Clay was then packed on top to a depth of about six to eight inches and held in place by the retaining rails.

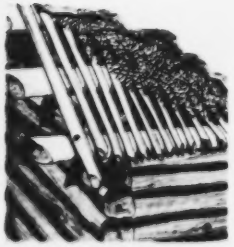
In addition to buildings, Grouse Creek ranches contain hay derricks, buck rakes, corrals, loading chutes, fences, and other features. Derricks and buck rakes were used to stack hay before about 1950 (site 54). Most ranches have two corrals, one for horses and another for cattle, and there is generally a feed lot for pasturing the cattle during the winter. The most prevalent type of nineteenth-century fence is the "pole fence." Found throughout Utah, poles fences are made by running pine (Douglas fir) poles or rails horizontally between pairs of upright posts and securing them with wooden pegs, nails, or wire. When such poles were unavailable—and stands of Douglas fir were found only in Pine Creek Canyon to the east and over the Nevada line to the west—posts fashioned from Juniper trees (called "cedar" locally) were used to make a type of stockade fence. These fences, visible on sites 63 and OGC 20, consist of posts vertically placed in the ground and held tightly together with wire. By the 1930s wire fences were in general use.



Saddle-notch corner timbering on the Edward Frost granary, ca. 1900. (Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25504/25)

A. Raymond Tanner house, site 7. A railroad tie bungalow built in 1914. (Roger Roper; GCCS RRB-25557/2)

Dirt-roofed Edward Frost house, site 52. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-11/4)



Cutaway drawing of a dirt roof. (Trav Winn)

The following chart lists all of the surveyed properties and notes each property's potential for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. Representative examples are also listed under the summary statements of historic and cultural contexts. *Eligible* sites possess the "integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association" required by the register's guidelines. *Ineligible* properties either lack historic integrity or are less than fifty years old. The condition of the historic properties in Grouse Creek ranges from well preserved to ruins. Ranch complexes at sites 52, 63, and OGC 20 are particularly well preserved. About one-third of the houses are either abandoned or unoccupied. In some cases houses have been remodeled, but there was virtually no new residential construction after 1940. In the data system used to maintain these records, the record for site 1 contains general information about the entire survey area.

Site Number	Site Name	Evaluation
1	General information	
2	J. R. Simplot Corrals	Eligible
3	William Paskett House	Eligible
4	Annie Mecham House	Eligible
5	Louis Tanner Mobile Home	Ineligible
6	Allen Newman Tanner House	Eligible
7	A. Raymond Tanner House	Eligible
8	Herbert Tanner House	Ineligible
9	Box Elder County Road Dept.	Eligible
10	George Paskett House	Ineligible
11	Mobile Home	Ineligible
12	Marge Thompson House	Ineligible
13	BLM-Grouse Creek Field Station	Ineligible
14	Phillip Paskett House	Eligible
15	Parley Paskett House	Eligible
16	Tie House from Lucin	Eligible
17	Grouse Creek Post Office	Ineligible
18	William C. Tanner House	Eligible
19	Albert F. Richins House	Eligible
20	Rodeo Grounds	Eligible
21	Tithing Granary	Eligible
22	Amanda Tanner House	Eligible
23	Joseph S. Barlow House	Eligible
24	Lawrence C. Kimber House	Ineligible
25	Wakefield Mobile Home	Ineligible
26	Milas Wakefield Store/Co-op	Eligible

Site Number	Site Name	Evaluation
27	Max Tanner House	Ineligible
28	Almie Richins House	Eligible
29	William C. Betteridge House	Ineligible
30	Grouse Creek School	Eligible
31	Grouse Creek Ward-LDS Church	Ineligible
32	Tie House	Ineligible
33	Thomas Toyn House	Eligible
34	A. J. Ballingham House	Ineligible
35	Arthur Richins, Jr., House	Eligible
36	Garage/house	Eligible
37	William J. Cook House	Ineligible
38	Joseph B. Lee House	Eligible
39	Ruin north of site 37	Ineligible
40	Charles Kimber House	Eligible
41	James Cook House	Eligible
42	Hugh Roberts House	Eligible

Architectural historian Debbie Randall and historian Roger Roper take measurements for a drawing of the rodeo grounds. (Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25587/24)

Site Number	Site Name	Evaluation
43	Grouse Creek Cemetery	Eligible
44	Charles Toyn House	Eligible
45	John Hadfield, Sr., House	Eligible
46	Phillip Paskett House	Ineligible
47	Frank Dale House	Ineligible
48	Charles Kimber Mobile Home	Ineligible
49	George A. Blanthorn Ranch Site	Eligible
50	William Shaw House	Eligible
51	Dave Douglas House	Eligible
52	Edward Frost House	Eligible
53	Frank LeRoy Frost House	Eligible
54	Tie Granary and Hay Derrick	Eligible
55	Elmer Kimber House	Ineligible
56	William Ballingham House	Eligible
57	Godfrey Ballingham House	Ineligible
58	Charles Toyn House	Eligible
59	Randy Kimber Mobile Home	Ineligible
60	Archie Toyn House	Ineligible
61	William Hadfield House	Eligible
62	Jeff Kimber Mobile Home	Ineligible
63	Ross Rytting Cabin	Eligible
OGC 1	Cotton Thomas Cabin	Eligible
OGC 2	Agricultural Outbuilding	Eligible
OGC 3	Corral	Ineligible
OGC 4	Tie House and Outbuilding	Eligible
OGC 5	David Kimber Double Wide	Ineligible
OGC 6	Frame Stable	Eligible
OGC 7	Railroad Building from Lucin	Ineligible
OGC 8	Kimble Dwelling	Eligible
OGC 9	Sam Kimble House	Eligible
OGC 10	Corral	Ineligible
OGC 11	Corral	Eligible
OGC 12	House	Eligible
OGC 13	House	Ineligible
OGC 14	Kimber Mobile Home	Ineligible
OGC 15	Kimber Outbuilding Complex	Ineligible
OGC 16	Corral	Eligible
OGC 17	Concrete Phone Booth	Eligible
OGC 18	William Charles Kimber House	Eligible

Site Number	Site Name	Evaluation
OGC 19	Ron Johnson House	Eligible
OGC 20	Reese Warburton House	Eligible
OGC 21	Hart Ranch	Eligible
OGC 22	Warburton House	Eligible
OGC 23	Max Tanner House	Eligible
OGC 24	Secrist Ranch	Eligible
OGC 25	Etna School	Eligible
OGC 26	Papworth/Lucas Ranch	Eligible
0GC 27	Thomas Ranch	Eligible
OGC 28	Seth Fletcher House	Eligible
OGC 29	Double Cell House	Eligible
OGC 30	Old Etna Dam	Eligible
OGC 31	Hales Ranch	Eligible
OGC 32	Ernest Kimber House	Ineligible

Doug Tanner (left) with his son Tom and his father-in-law Max, moving cattle in the Cotton Thomas Basin north of Grouse Creek. (Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25589/30)

Profile of Cultural Features

This profile describes the culture and cultural history of Grouse Creek in general terms and is divided into sections covering the dominant spheres of life: work, community, and home. Individual cultural features—other than properties—are identified during the course of the narrative and not enumerated separately.

Work. Cattle ranching was established as the principal occupation in the Grouse Creek valley by the first decade of the twentieth century. An early attempt had been made to export wheat, but ranching proved more lucrative and prevailed. Most ranches raised cattle, although a large number of sheep passed through the valley in the years before range laws passed during the 1930s made sheep raising unprofitable.

Ranching in Grouse Creek has always been influenced by the example of northern Nevada, a vital force in the ranching culture of the Great Basin. During the nineteenth century the range cattle industry shaped to an important extent the culture and economy of large sections of northern Nevada, southeastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, and northeastern California. The reasons for the success of cattle ranching in the region include the demise of the Texas beef monopoly, the presence of nearby markets along the expanding mining frontier, improved transportation, and, perhaps above all, the nature of the land itself. The region's topography is ideal for supporting a system of grazing that uses the high mountain pastures in the summer and the lower desert range in the winter. The area is characterized by its large isolated ranches and distinctive buckaroo culture.

The word *buckaroo* is derived from the Spanish *vaquero,* the name for Hispanic California horsemen, descendants of the Spanish settlers of old California. The vaqueros migrated to the Great Basin to find work in the region's developing cattle industry. They brought with them a tradition of working cattle that shaped the identity of the emerging local ranch culture. In *Buckaroos in Paradise: Cowboy Life in Northern Nevada,* Howard W. Marshall writes:

> As Anglo ranches and herds were being built up, the European-American pioneers employed Mexican vaqueros, and the vaquero traditions of horsemanship, equipment, and language greatly influenced other working cowboys. By the time the open-range cattle business reached its heyday in the generation after the Civil War and family and corporate ranches were thriving in northern Nevada, *vaquero* was the word used for *cowboy* (Marshall and Ahlborn 1980: 12).

Marshall notes that specific techniques such as dallying the rope (from the Spanish *dale vuelta* meaning "give it a turn," referring to the technique of wrapping the rope around the saddle horn rather than tying "hard and fast"); equipment like the *riata* (rawhide braided rope for catching cattle), *hackamore* (from *jaquima,* a halter made of braided rawhide), and *macardy* (long rope of twisted horsehair); and such terms as *cavvy* (from

Edward Shaw and John T. Betteridge, 1897. (Courtesy Raida Kimber; GCCS TCB-90105/17)

caviata, meaning a string of saddle horses) and *mustang* (wild horse) are of Spanish origin and have become hallmarks of the "buckaroo" style of cowboying.

In earlier years Grouse Creek residents used the word *buckaroo* more than *cowboy,* although *cowboy* predominates today. But their approach to the work thoroughly reflects Great Basin buckaroo tradition. They use the same tools, techniques, and vocabulary, though their ranches are smaller. Like some of their western counterparts, they become farmers when haying season comes, although they know that the classic buckaroo would disdain any work that could not be performed on horseback. The chief differences between them and their Nevada counterparts reflect the influence of the Mormon religion. Grouse Creek cowboys tend not to drink or smoke—most eschew coffee—and they give greater emphasis to family and church-related community activities.

The life of ranching has always been a seamless one; work flows in the rhythm of the changing seasons. One may think of the cycle as beginning as winter breaks and the calves are born. Next, the herds move to the summer range in the higher elevations. After they have arrived, the animals are rounded up and new calves are branded. Although the basic form of spring activities remains the same, many details have changed in recent years.

Before the range was fenced during the late 1930s and 1940s, the cattle drifted up the mountains from the lower winter range or home ranches. The roundup for spring branding was a community activity involving about a dozen men. Two wagons were outfitted, and one crew went to the range of mountains to the west while the other went east. Small groups of cattle were *rodeered*—as the activity of gathering and branding is called—during a two- to three-week period. There were no corrals on the range, and the calves were roped and branded in the open.

Oren Kimber, a seventy-five-year-old buckaroo turned rancher, remembered that when he was young they rodeered in the open. "It would take quite a few [cowboys] to hold 'em," Kimber said. "Usually two roped, and maybe two or three on the ground to brand the calves. Two roped and dragged 'em out. At that time we worked them a lot, so they'd be not so hard to hold." Doug Tanner, a forty-two-year-old rancher, recalled that "before my time they used to not even come to the corral with them before the fences and all that, they used to have the rodeers, and hold 'em and brand 'em, and just move 'em from place to place, and hold 'em out on the open range."

The open range was the key to the initial success of ranching in the valley. The availability of public grazing land meant that the families could run larger, more profitable herds. The openness of the range also dictated the pattern of life. Without fences the cattle would drift to both the west and north, forcing the buckaroos to cover a considerable amount of territory. In order to recover cattle that had drifted to ranches outside the valley, Grouse Creek men would have to work on adjoining ranches as representatives, or "reps," for Grouse Creek interests. Most Grouse Creek buckaroos repped on the Nevada ranches sometime during their lives, thus coming into direct contact with Nevada buckaroo crews. "You were expected to be there," Max Tanner said, "just like their cowboys."

The spring roundup continues today, but it has been changed by enclosure of the range and the introduction of stock trucks. The public lands were fenced during the years following the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934. The effect of fencing on Grouse Creek ranchers was significant, for it transformed the open range into a network of specific allotments, with each rancher receiving certain parcels of range according to the size of his herd and number of acres owned. The existence of the allotments meant that the cattle could no longer drift toward the higher range in the springtime. Instead, the cowboys now gather and move them on horseback to individual fields that are often scattered over several sections of land. The spring branding now takes place in corrals on the home ranch in April or early May. Several local ranchers like Doug Tanner continue to rope and throw calves for branding, although others, like Oren Kimber and his son Randy, use a mechanized table-chute for holding the calves. Branding is almost always done now with stamp irons, although running irons were once used, and propane tanks or even electric generators have replaced the open fire for heating the irons.

The stock truck has changed ranching in Grouse Creek as it has throughout the

William Ballingham's haying crew and horse-powered buckrake at the Lyman Kimber ranch, site 49, ca. 1900. (Courtesy Emily Kimber; GCCS HCB-25637/36)

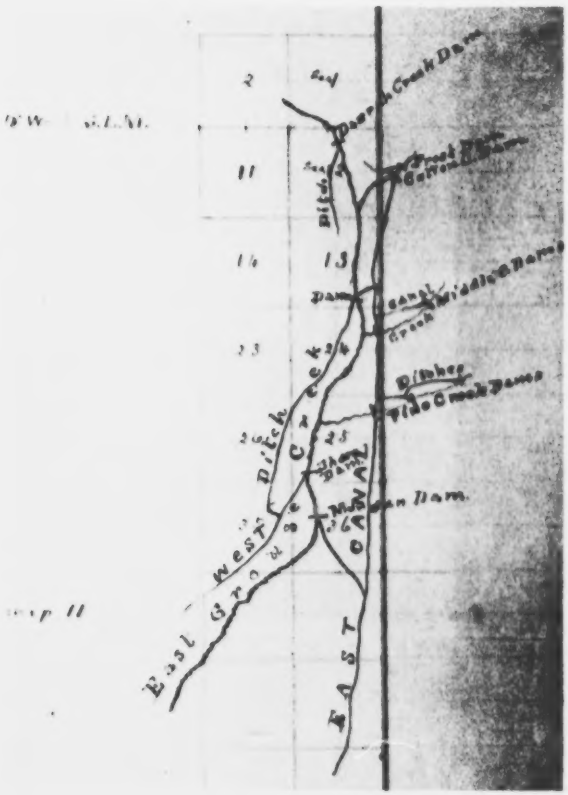
Steve Kimber stacking hay at the Edward Frost ranch, site 52. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-8/26A-27)

West. Stock trucks are either one-ton trucks with a stock rack or four-wheel-drive pickups pulling horse trailers. Trucks now transport cowboys and their horses to the work site; there is no longer the need to ride long hours to the job or to camp on the range. Since the horses arrive fresh, endurance is less a factor in selecting a mount, and ranchers do not have to own as many horses. Trucks have not shortened the working days, but they have made it possible for the ranchers and cowboys to be at home at night with their families, an important consideration in Mormon Grouse Creek.

During the summer, riding is confined to periodic trips to the mountains to push the cattle into higher range and distribute salt. The season's primary activity is putting up hay for winter feed. On the Nevada ranches haying is often contracted out to crews from nearby towns or farms. Many Grouse Creek residents have worked on the haying crews, and in the 1920s and 1930s the work was an important source of income. Today, the ranchers concern themselves with their own hayfields, usually harvesting two cuttings of alfalfa and one of field grass. Formerly horse-powered mowing machines cut the hay, which then was loaded onto wagons with buck rakes, and finally hoisted by derricks onto stacks behind the corrals. Now the process is mechanized, and a single man using a mower, baler, and stacker can do the work of a whole haying crew. According to Doug Tanner, the change has made each step of the work easier, but the total effort is unchanged "because you just try to do more." Grouse Creek ranchers share every buckaroo's pleasure in horseback work and negative feelings about haying.

The most traditional aspect of hay production is flood irrigation. In the region's semiarid climate the melting snowpack provides the ranchers with most of their water. In Grouse Creek the system for bringing the water from the spring runoff to the fields has remained virtually unchanged since the days of first settlement. Oren Kimber, current secretary of the community water company, pointed out that "our irrigation system hasn't changed that much from the very beginning of the irrigation company. There is a little side issue on it. There's a few wells that've been dug, and in the lower country [Etna], quite a few wells, and there's a sprinkling system on them, but the old irrigation system and the water that's used from it is used about the same today as it was when I first remember."

The East Grouse Creek Water Company was organized in the 1890s. Settlers received shares in the company based on the size of their land holdings. Shares are measured in acre-feet of water and are tied by deed to the land itself. The water from East Grouse, Pine, Kimball, Middle, and Joe Dahar (Darrah) Creeks is channeled into ditches on the east and west sides of the valley. These ditches run along the edge of the foothills to keep the water as high as possible as it moves down the valley, thus ensuring a good flow onto the fields. Irrigation consists of "flooding" the land; the entire stream is diverted from the irrigation ditch onto the field. Each rancher who owns shares has a right to the stream for a certain amount of time. No precise method of measurement is used. When one's turn is over, it is the responsibility of the next rancher to make sure



The East Grouse Creek Water Company irrigation system. The system of creeks, canals, ditches, and dams has not changed in any essential way since 1896, when this sketch was made. (Courtesy Oren Kimber; GCCS TCB-90105/35)

the water is switched onto his land. Kimber says the system gives everyone "about their fair share." Sprinklers now are quite common in the valley, particularly on the land below the Etna Reservoir, completed in 1958. In all cases, however, the sprinklers supplement rather than replace flood irrigation. People are concerned to make use of all the water available, for, as Oren Kimber remarked, "when it gets by here it's gone."

Fall roundup begins about the first of October. In the past, this too was a community activity. But today each rancher is responsible for his own herd, and they are driven down on horseback to be collected at the ranch. Calves born during the summer are branded and doctored, and those that will be sold are separated out. In early days the cattle would be driven to the railhead at Lucin to be sold in the Ogden stockyards. Today buyers come out and pick them up, or they are trucked to the livestock sale at Rupert, Idaho. Heifers about to bear their first calves, and some other selected stock, remain on the ranch's feed lot all winter, while the others are driven to the winter range.

January finds the pace of life in Grouse Creek lowered with the temperature. Most cattle are wintered on the desert range—an area encompassing about a fifteen-mile stretch along the Nevada border. Some ranches, lacking allotments on the desert, keep all their cattle on their feed lots. The rancher's work at this time entails feeding the hay produced during the summer. The daily feeding routine is handled by the men, often aided by their children. When the number of cattle to be fed is small, they use trucks, and when the herd is large, tractors and rubber-tire wagons. Periodically the ranchers take their horses to the winter range and ride out to check their stock. Doug Tanner describes winter as a time of trying to pull the cattle through, to "keep them alive until spring."

The cycle of ranching in Grouse Creek has been followed for nearly one hundred years. Although the amount of mechanization has increased, the horse remains essential to the craft. As Max Tanner said, "You aren't going to get 'em [the cattle] in any other way." The ability to move cattle on horseback remains a crucial facet of Grouse Creek work. "Brush riding," as the cowboys call normal work riding to distinguish it from the rodeo variety, involves a solid sense of animal behavior. Doug Tanner's explanation of the use of spurs reveals some of the techniques of working cattle from horseback.

Max Tanner moving cattle in Cotton Thomas Basin. (Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25589/15)

> Spurs are a teaching tool on a young horse, knowing where and when to spur 'em, at the right time. For instance, if you want to turn a cow, and if you just touch him in a tender spot, say in the shoulder, with the spurs — if you touch him in the right shoulder and rein him to the left at the same time, and you do that enough times, when a cow is making the right move, pretty soon he knows when that cow turns to go, he'd better move or he's gonna get jabbed. It's a reminder.

The rider and horse must work together. A "good hand" is firm but never cruel with his animals.

The Grouse Creek cowboy's gear—the tools of his trade—marks his connection with buckaroo tradition (Nevada buckaroo gear is treated from a folklife perspective in Marshall and Ahlborn 1980 and Fleischhauer 1985). The saddle is arguably the most important tool, and Grouse Creek cowboys share with their Great Basin brethren a preference for a saddle rigged to a single, centrally located cinch. Like its Nevada counterpart, this general type comes with many variations—"center-fire" and "five-eighths" rigs, flank cinches for the effect of a double rig, swelled forks, three-quarters pommel, and so on. But the relative absence of the full double-rig saddle familiar to Texas and the Southwest is diagnostic. Grouse Creek saddles have the stout horns associated with the preference for dallying (wrapping) the riata, in contrast to the Southwest's customary hard-and-fast tying of the lariat. Stirrups tend to be open, although Max Tanner's rig exhibits the buckaroo style of boxed or California-type stirrups, which he covers with leather *taps* in the winter.

The preferred reins are made of braided rawhide and include a *romal* (a whip attached at the end of the reins). Most cowboys prefer a spade bit with spoon rollers, though when starting a colt a snaffle bit is used. Grouse Creek cowboys generally use hackamores to break horses. The hackamore consists of a *bosal* or braided rawhide noseband, a headstall of one sort of another (the system of straps that goes over the upper portion of the horse's head), and the horsehair macardy that forms the reins and lead rope.

Most cowboys use a forty-five-foot nylon rope for dallying. Rawhide riatas were once common, as were seagrass ropes. The Betteridge family used to be famous for its rawhide and horsehair braiding, but now only Wallace, 82 and living in nearby Montello, continues the craft, making much-sought-after riatas and bosals. As in Nevada, Grouse Creek cowboys have either *shotgun chaps*, leather leggings which go all around the leg and are zipped on, or *chinks*, short leather chaps. *Bat-wing* chaps, popular in the valley during the early 1900s, are now seen again with increasing frequency.

In recent years Nevada and other parts of the Great Basin have experienced a revival of interest in the ideal of a classic buckaroo type. No better symbol of this revival exists than the recent adoption of "old-time" cowboy gear: wide-brimmed hats, colorful bandannas or "wild-rags," and jingle-bob spurs. These innovations have not made

inroads in Grouse Creek; the community's conservative ranchers continue to dress in the manner of Great Basin and other Western cowboys of the post-war era. Their outfit is characterized by a cowboy hat without the wide, flat buckaroo brim, jeans, a work shirt, and boots. In some cases, especially in winter, the costume partakes of a more universal agricultural model with tractor hats, insulated overalls, and rubber overshoes on cowboy boots. The outfit remains important, however, and there are Grouse Creekers who stubbornly refuse to deviate from the Western way. Doug Tanner remarked that the "more the person prides himself as a cowboy, the less he likes to put on a pair of overalls, cap with earpads, and mittens. In fact, there's a lot of oldtimers that would go out and their ears get frostbit, or put their scarf around their ears, rather than put on a cap and pull down the pads. Just to kinda keep the image up a little bit."

Wallace Betteridge finishes a braided rawhide reata by attaching a "hondoo" (sometimes "hondo"), the ring through which the rope passes to form a loop, Montello, Nevada. (Hal Cannon; GCCS HCB-25637/3)

The image of the cowboy is manifest in a kind of cowboy code. The image and the code are evident in the clothes, but in Grouse Creek, as in Nevada, it is the skills that are most valued. Doug Tanner takes pride, for instance, in continuing to rope and throw calves during spring branding rather than using a table-chute, a mechanized device that holds calves as they are branded. On a less specific level, there is something in being, as Max Tanner says, "a good neighbor," helping adjoining ranches collect strays, mending fences, and treating folks honestly. "You gotta have good neighbors, you know," Tanner said. "They know you'll take care of theirs, and they're gonna take care of yours, that's kinda the way its been for years and years." In the larger buckaroo community, Grouse Creek cowboys are judged not as Mormons, but as cowboys, by whether or not they were "good hands."

"I wanted to be a cowboy I guess from the time I got big enough to go out and watch the rest of them," Max Tanner recalls. His son Doug explains how he learned to be a cowboy:

> Basically I learned a lot from my father. He was a good cowboy. He had a lot of pride in his work, not just in the work he did, but his horses, and his gear, he always kept it in good shape, and a lot of people said he rode good horses, and that's a pretty good compliment. I know it would be to him. And I learned a lot from him and as kids do, kids always have a tendency to pick out somebody that they kinda emulate a little bit, and pick up traits from them, and I've done that too, in riding with different people I saw people do things that I said, "Well, I wish I could do that," or, "I'm goin' to try and learn to do that." Max is a good cowboy, he knew cattle, I picked up a lot of the habits he had.

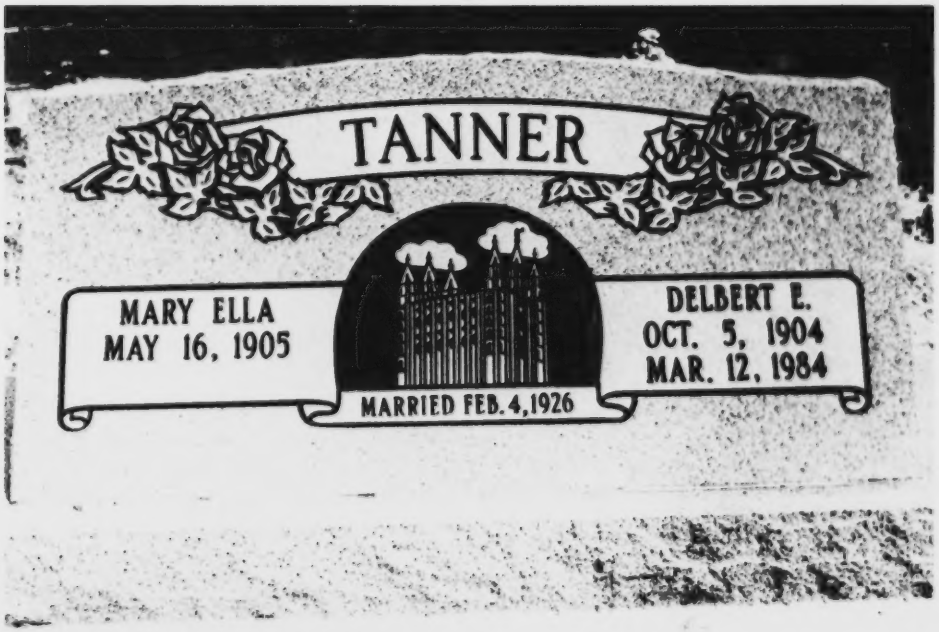
Earlier, what one could learn about cowboying in Grouse Creek was supplemented by repping for one of the bigger Nevada ranches. Most Grouse Creek cowboys have worked away from home sometime during their lives, partly from necessity and partly from the need to experience buckaroo culture first hand. Doug Tanner, for example, mentioned that he did not consider himself a real cowboy until he worked on the Simplot buckaroo crew.

Three generations: Max Tanner, his grandson, Tom, and his son-in-law, Doug. (Tom Carter; GCCS TCB-25584/15)

In the 1980s the cowboy life is changing. The only real "buckaroo crew" in town is run by Milt Oman for the J.R. Simplot company. It has always been hard to make a living, and since at least the 1940s many Grouse Creek cowboys like Winfred Kimber have taken jobs with county government or have moved away. More and more of the young men in town are turning to a mechanized type of ranching, and those considered to be good ropers and riders are dwindling. Some, like Jay Tanner and Randy Kimber, have grown up in the tradition and value it, and others, like Doug and Kathleen's son, Thomas, are just entering it. Thomas, now five, started this year to ride with Doug and Max. "He's really helped a lot," his mother said. "I don't think he can do anything except follow instructions but he does do that pretty well. I think he's going to be a real good cowboy because he's got a patient dad who teaches him how." Like Doug, Thomas has taken to the riding part of the job. "Every morning he comes in and asks if we are riding, irrigating, or fencing. If it's riding, he's right there, if it's the other two it takes a little prodding."

Community. The Great Basin's buckaroo culture has permeated Grouse Creek's occupational sphere, but it is not nearly so influential in the spheres of community and home; these have been profoundly shaped by Mormon influences. The integration of the discoveries made by the historians and the folklorists is nowhere as evident as in the area of community life. The description of community buildings included above as part of the inventory of properties sketches several features of Grouse Creek's social life. This section of the profile of cultural features amplifies the earlier description, with a specific focus upon the role of religion in shaping community identity.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was founded in 1830 at Palmyra, New York, following a series of revelations by the religion's prophet, Joseph Smith. These revelations, preserved as scripture in the *Book of Mormon*, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, and the *Pearl of Great Price*, proclaimed the restoration of Christ's true church to earth in the Last Days. The Latter-day Saints believed the Second Coming was imminent, but would only occur when the proper moral and social conditions were established. In this sense Mormonism represents an activist theology—salvation is attained



The gravestone of Mary Ella and Delbert E. Tanner. The juxtaposition of the couple's names with the image of the Salt Lake City Temple symbolizes the eternal marriage that forms an important part of Mormon belief. (Hal Cannon; GCCS HCB-25572/3)

through baptism and enduring faith, but also through social action. Nineteenth-century Mormon society defined itself in opposition to the individualism and materialism of antebellum America. Order, cooperation, and spirituality became fundamental values within the incipient Mormon culture. As persecution drove the church westward into the Rocky Mountains in the years after 1847, these values—manifest in strict obedience to authority, efforts to develop communitarian institutions, and the designation of the family as the primary source of spiritual and moral education—continued to play an important role in Mormon group life.

Grouse Creek is a "ward" within a larger Latter-day Saint "stake," a regional unit composed of several wards. The ward is presided over by a bishop chosen from the community; in a town the size of Grouse Creek the Mormon bishop often plays the role of mayor as well. Virtually all the people in Grouse Creek are Mormons, and church membership provides them with a fundamental and enduring bond.

The "Mormonness" of the community is the sum total of each individual's efforts to remain faithful to church principles. Active members obey commandments that include abstaining from alcohol, tobacco, and caffeine; offering an annual tithe; regularly attending Sunday worship; performing certain ritual ordinances in the Mormon temples; and participating in various youth and senior-citizen group meetings, sports activities, and social events. The realm of the sacred is pervasive in Grouse Creek life. Verna Kimber Richardson remembered that, as she was growing up in the 1940s, "all events were related to religion—everything centered around ward activity." The situation has not changed appreciably today.

Both official and unofficial expressions of Mormon ideals and values emphasize faith, community, and family. Weekly Sunday School lessons from Latter-day Saint leaders in Salt Lake City discuss the importance of avoiding the temptations of the secular world, of obeying divinely inspired authority, and of preserving the family. Traditional stories, customs, and activities in informal circulation reinforce the same basic themes. The important role folk culture plays in cultivating and codifying Mormon values in Grouse Creek is evident from the survey's interviews, and is particularly visible in faith-promoting lore, music, poetry, and community celebrations.

Faith-promoting stories are informal narratives, often very personal, that provide witness to the truth of church doctrines. Although the Grouse Creek survey did not record specific examples of these narratives, residents referred to the existence of two main types. The first concerns itself with providential happenings—the direct and often miraculous involvement of God in the affairs of men. The stories are often about healings or report unexpected help and timely advice from strangers. Their message is clear: the righteous can expect divine aid in time of need. The second body of narratives centers upon the testing of the faithful. Mormons believe they will be continually confronted with temptation and adversity which they can overcome by following prescribed commandments. Although this short-lived survey did not encounter examples,

Grouse Creek no doubt sustains other Mormon folklore like humorous tales and jokes, personal experiences from the mission field, and legends about famous Mormon leaders.

Grouse Creek has always been too small to support an extensive mercantile establishment. For many years, the Wakefield family ran a small general store. But about thirty years ago, its profitability declined and the store became a cooperative venture managed on a part-time basis by a group of community members.

Music is another important facet of Grouse Creek culture. In an earlier time, monthly dances were held on the fine dance floor in the basement of the ward chapel. Residents danced reels, two-steps, waltzes, polkas, and fox-trots to the music of the Grouse Creek Orchestra, consisting of a violin, saxophone, guitar or banjo, and piano. Today the monthly dances have ended; a decline in ward population and the demolition of the old church are the reasons most often given for their demise. But the community continues to stage dances on holidays, weddings, and other special occasions. Although the musicians are no longer local, a band with an eclectic repertory of popular favorites will play for what is truly a family gathering, with attendees ranging from babies to the elderly.

In addition, one or two local musicians still perform. Seventy-five-year-old Archie Toyn, one of the community's leading performers, often sings at family gatherings and ward functions. Toyn, who learned to sing from his father and from a neighbor, was for many years a member of the Grouse Creek Orchestra. His repertory consists primarily of older sentimental songs from the 1920s and 1930s such as "The Haunted Falls" and "An Old Rocking Chair." These pieces, and the popular Mormon hymns that everyone knows, typify the singing found in other Mormon communities, and the repertory ties Grouse Creek to the extensive Mormon culture region to the east. Conspicuous by their absence are songs of cowboys and ranching life.

The survey discovered a vigorous tradition of composing and reciting poems in Grouse Creek. Verses are written for specific community functions and gatherings like birthdays, weddings, wedding anniversaries, family reunions, and funerals. A great many residents—both men and women—participate in this activity, and poems were recited for the field team by Steve Kimber, Marge Thompson, Opal Kimber, and Rhea Toyn. The poems tend to be regularly metered, rhymed, and composed in four-line stanzas. They resemble the cowboy verse prevalent in the West but differ in content.

Rhea Toyn's "Reunions" is a good example of Grouse Creek poetry. The poem was written in July 1985 and offers an insight into the important place families occupy in Mormon belief. Families are important to Mormons—as they are for other Americans—as a vehicle for maintaining particular values and customs. In addition, Mormons believe that their extended families can be reunited after death if the ancestors can be identified through genealogical research, and if certain temple ceremonies are performed on their behalf. Rhea Toyn's poem "Reunions" notes the relationship between a reunion of the living family and the promise of the reunion to come. The survey team encountered only one or two examples of, or references to, cowboy poetry. This

Rhea and Archie Toyn. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-9/28A)

Reunions
by Rhea Toyn

Reunion time is here again,
So good to see your faces,
Some new—some old—but oh what joy,
To feel your warm embraces.

Sometimes we wonder why we have
Reunions every year,
But it's so nice to reminisce—
We wish everyone were here.

Reunions can be many things,
Memories—fun things—and some so sad,
We'll never forget the good things,
And there never was much bad.

We've had our cookouts and lunches
And eaten the food galore,
And if we had our choices—
How could we ask for more?

We've played some games, and shared our talents,
If you were asked—what would YOU choose?
If we forget goals set for us,
That is when we will lose.

Can't you just feel the spirit
Of our loved ones, and their glow?
We know they are concerned for us
And our accomplishments, here below.

Great blessings have been promised us,
If only we'll obey.
When we search our family histories,
It will help to pave the way.

Genealogy work, we must not shirk,
Then Temple work follows, too.
Each is an earthly ordinance—
Something we must all do.

There are things that are more important
Than the fun things we have had,
That will make us families forever—
Our Ancestors will be so glad.

Don't think I'm being preachy,
The responsibility lies with all.
So let's keep the family reunions—
Let's each answer to the call.

absence is more noteworthy than the absence of cowboy song because of the ubiquity and vitality of cowboy poetry within buckaroo culture.

In earlier days two celebrations marked midsummer and midwinter on Grouse Creek's calendar: Independence Day and Christmas. In recent years, the community's celebration of Christmas has been reduced from a round of dances and get-togethers to a relatively modest church service, but Independence Day is still going strong. During the early decades of this century the Independence Day celebration consisted mainly of a patriotic musical program accompanied by athletic contests—usually a baseball game and foot race—and a community dinner. In 1985 it included a western-style breakfast, a parade, a rodeo, and a dance in addition to the program, baseball game, and foot races. Many residents schedule their family reunions to coincide with the event, and Brian and Jolene Thompson scheduled their wedding reception for the day.

The day's activities began with an outdoor breakfast of pancakes, sausage, and eggs. The parade that followed included children on bicycles and horses, a clown throwing candy, and four floats (decorated hay wagons pulled by trucks): a 4H float with children holding lambs; a float by the Thompson family carrying a load of children and bearing a

Team roping at the Independence Day rodeo. (Carol Edison; GCCS CEB-25497/33)

Dance at the school, Independence Day. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-15/16)

banner reading "Thompson's Best Crop"; an entry representing the Latter-day Saint ward and the town decorated with sagebrush, children, and American flags; and a final float carrying parade royalty. In addition, the town's three oldest citizens, Winfred Kimber, Herbert Tanner, and Ella Tanner, rode in the back of a pickup above a sign proclaiming them "Grouse Creek's Best." The theme of the morning's patriotic program was "America's History," and a number of performers represented different periods in the nation's development. The program was followed by a series of foot races for the children, a baseball game, and a noon-time dinner of roast beef, mashed potatoes, vegetables, salad, and dessert.

The rodeo, which began just after dinner, drew entries from Grouse Creek and surrounding ranches in Utah, Idaho, and Nevada. The fences around the rodeo grounds were crowded with spectators watching cowboys compete in such events as team-roping, bull-riding, and bronc-riding. Rodeos became popular in the community during the late 1940s, when the present arena was built, replacing an earlier baseball diamond. The day ended with Brian Thompson's wedding reception at the church and a dance in the school auditorium. Although the celebration had a Western feel and highlighted aspects of the ranching occupation, the predominant values expressed by the day's activities were Mormon. Grouse Creek celebrated church, family, and patriotism on Independence Day.

Table set for midday dinner at Doug and Kathleen Tanner's home. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-12/3)

Home. Grouse Creek ranches are small family-type operations that demand a partnership between men and women—a working relationship between husbands, wives, and children. The men's domain is primarily outdoors and entails working with horses, cattle, and hay. The women's domain is indoors and includes child-rearing, food preparation, and maintaining the home. Marge Thompson said that young girls were supposed to stay around the house and avoid "corral talk." Today, as in years past, circumstances sometimes force women and girls to help out with "men's work" on the ranch, but their main responsibility remains in the home.

The Mormon home revolves around children. Girls marry young, and a premium is placed on large families. Women have the primary responsibility for raising the children, especially when the children are very young. Fathers are eager to teach their sons the ways of the ranch, and it is not uncommon for the boys to begin riding soon after they learn to walk. Girls perform many household duties and take an active part in raising younger siblings. The community's shared sense of values means that parents trust their neighbors to instruct or discipline their children when the need arises. These ideas and practices have remained relatively unchanged since the time of early settlement.

Food preparation takes up a large part of each mother's daily routine. Meat is at the center of Grouse Creek's diet. The availability of perishable home-butchered beef, coupled with a life of strenuous outdoor labor, helped reinforce this widespread American pat-

Kathleen Tanner's Chili Sauce Recipe

This recipe, similar to others in Grouse Creek, was passed from Melissa Tanner to her daughter Kathleen.

9 medium sized ripe tomatoes, peeled and pared
3 medium sized yellow onions, peeled and put through grinder
2 cups sugar
2 cups cider vinegar
1/2 teaspoon nutmeg
1/2 teaspoon cinnamon
1/2 teaspoon cloves
1/2 teaspoon allspice
2 tablespoons salt

Combine all of the ingredients. Boil "fast" until the mixture starts to thicken; then boil slowly and stir. Be careful not to scorch. Cook until desired consistency. Prepare canning jars and fill with mixture. If the lids don't seal, hot pack the bottle for ten minutes.

tern in the community's early history. A typical breakfast consists of eggs with bacon or sausage (cereal is becoming more prevalent), and the midday dinner includes meat, potatoes, vegetables, salad, and dessert. Leftovers usually suffice for the smaller evening supper. Roast beef is the favored meat; potatoes are invariably mashed and served with gravy; peas, carrots, corn, and beans are the main vegetables; and there are tossed salads and cole slaw. Melissa Tanner explained that she prefers roast because "it seems easier and then you have gravy to go along with mashed potatoes, and a salad and a vegetable with chili sauce, pickles, or something that you've canned." Sweet condiments, including chili sauce, relishes, and pickled beets, are often served as a complement to the meat dishes. Chili sauce in particular is a local favorite, and each cook has a different recipe that has been handed down from her mother or obtained from a close friend.

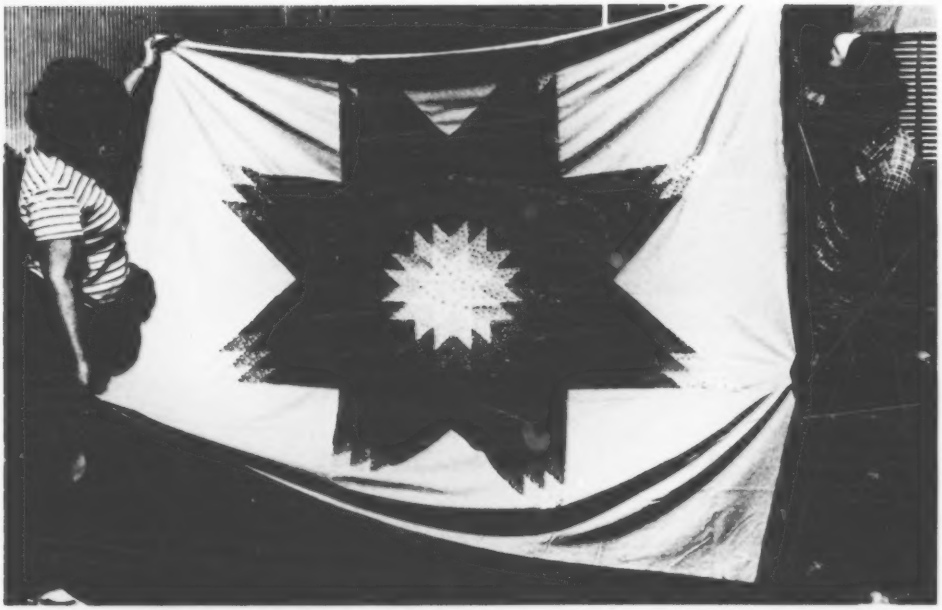
Every meal is followed by dessert, generally consisting of home-canned fruit or pies. Favorite fruits include peaches, pears, strawberries, and raspberries purchased from the orchards in Brigham City. Pies have increased in popularity since the war; they range from old favorites like double-crusted cherry or blueberry pies to the more contemporary single-crusted cream pies.

The most significant change in Grouse Creek foodways has been the decreased importance of family gardens. Much produce now comes from the supermarket in Oakley, Idaho. Mincemeat, venison, and a variety of fruits and vegetables used to be canned at home. Today canning is limited to fruit and condiments. A less significant change is the introduction of new dinner dishes like pizzas, tacos, and chow mein.

As in most Mormon communities, quilt-making is a traditional home craft in Grouse Creek. Church groups have always sponsored afternoon quilting sessions. Until the 1940s, when the population declined, quilting groups met on a regular basis, but today the activity is more sporadic and depends upon special needs. Women gather to make a quilt for a wedding or a needy family, or when one member of the group has a pieced quilt-top ready for quilting. Tied camp quilts, made from heavy fabric for outdoor use, or quilts pieced from fabric scraps are no longer as common as in pre-war years. Today's favorite local style is made of plain tricot and quilted with a decorative design. Flowers are popular quilt-top motifs, and images of the various Latter-day Saint temples have recently been introduced.

Summary Statements of Historic and Cultural Context

In Grouse Creek, the architectural features helped the field team develop a sense of the three important periods in the community's history: a settlement era from 1875 to about 1900, a period during which the community was well established and stable from 1900 to 1940, and the wartime and postwar era from 1940 to the present. The log and dirt-roofed structures built between 1875 and the turn of the century showed how the first settlers relied upon local building materials and experienced frontier living condi-



Kenna Tanner and her son Brent display Kenna's cotton Lone Star quilt. (Carol Edison; GCCS CEB-25573/31)

tions. Many of the corral and outbuilding complexes on the ranches were constructed before 1900, suggesting that ranching was already a fundamental part of Grouse Creek life in this first period. The appearance of larger and more substantial brick and stone houses as well as numerous frame buildings after 1900 indicate increased growth and prosperity and mark the establishment of a fully realized community and its institutions. The most important symbol of this second period was the completion of an imposing stone meetinghouse in 1912. The stability of community life during this period is suggested by the absence of new construction until after World War II. After the war Grouse Creek's population declined and its economy was reduced. This third period saw the mechanization of the ranches and a large amount of home remodeling.

The survey's folklife data reinforces the lesson of the architectural record. Interviews with men who learned the cowboy trade during the first decades of this century, for example, suggest that cowboy and ranching traditions reached their apex during the era of establishment and stability. The folklife research, however, accomplished far more than simply corroborating the story told by the community's buildings. It highlighted the role two major Western culture regions played in shaping Grouse Creek's identity.

Valison Tanner-Max Tanner ranch, site OGC 23. The core of the house shown here is a log structure built by Valison Tanner in about 1900. It is hidden beneath several generations of railroad tie and frame additions and an outer layer of aluminum siding added in 1962. The corrals and outbuildings, typical of the area's ranches, were mostly built in the late ninteenth century. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-11/24)

Grouse Creek lies on the boundary between the land of the buckaroos on the west and the Mormon empire to the east, and life in the community is shaped by the interplay between these two cultural traditions. The buckaroo style informs the occupational approaches and techniques on Grouse Creek ranches, while Mormon values and beliefs guide most other aspects of life. This cultural interplay is suggested only in the most subtle way by the architectural evidence; to the casual viewer, Grouse Creek buildings resemble farm buildings in many other parts of Utah. The buckaroo influence is more strongly felt in their use, and in their relationship to intangible aspects of culture.

The cultural resources of Grouse Creek are significant as an expression of the intersection of Mormon and buckaroo cultures in this remote section of the Great Basin. The community's identity is that of the Mormon cowboy, and its cultural context in its broadest and most holistic form may be stated as *Mormon Ranching and Community Life in Northwestern Utah.* The following list identifies the most important facets of this larger context and provides brief summary statements of the type customarily used by historic preservation planners.

Context 1 **Mormon Cattle Ranching, 1880s-1940**

Grouse Creek was settled between 1875 and 1900 by Mormon farmers who quickly adopted the occupational traditions of the Great Basin range cattle industry. Ranching traditions developed and flourished from the 1880s until about 1940, when the closing of the open range and the events surrounding World War II significantly changed the pattern of occupational life.

Resources
Selected range land (natural features, buildings, corrals, other structures)
Original ranch sites (dwellings, outbuildings, corrals, derricks, etc.)
Outbuilding types (granaries, barns, tack sheds)
Log corner-timbering examples
Dirt-roofed buildings
Family history narratives of the settlement period
The East Grouse Creek irrigation system
The original Etna dam
Occupational calendar customs (spring round-up, summer haying, fall round-up, winter feeding)
Traditional cowboy skills
Traditional cowboy material culture
Occupational narratives

Context 2 **Wartime and Postwar Mormon Cattle Ranching, 1940-present**

The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 ushered in a period of great change for Grouse Creek ranchers. The fencing of the range, largely accomplished after World War II, was accompanied by the widespread adoption of mechanized haying machinery and the stock truck. Ranching traditions were modified to accommodate changes in technology, but the continuing need to round up and work cattle on horseback ensured that many older occupational traditions were maintained.

Resources
Mechanized haying
Fenced grazing allotments
Contemporary cowboy occupational lore
Contemporary cowboy occupational material culture

Context 3 **An Early Mormon Ranching Community, 1875-1890**

The settlement of the community of Grouse Creek deviated from non-Mormon Great Basin patterns, in which ranches are more or less isolated from one another. Grouse Creek's "line village" of small ranches clustered near a church reflects Mormon beliefs and provides the structure for subsequent community development.

The community's early domestic architecture reflected frontier conditions. Houses were constructed of log in relatively simple one- and two-room plans, often with dirt roofs.

Resources
The line village settlement pattern
Early house types (hall, hall-parlor, double-cell)
Log construction techniques
Dirt-roofed houses
Family history narratives

Context 4 **An Established Mormon Ranching Community, 1890-1920**

By 1890, Grouse Creek's identity as a small, homogeneous, and devout Mormon community was firmly established, with the characteristic integration of sacred and secular functions. The bishop of the LDS ward served both as religious and civil leader, and the church was the scene of a range of activities including social dances. The sense of community was also visible on the ranches when groups of workers executed largescale tasks. Stone and masonry religious and public buildings were erected during this period.

Resources
The LDS Tithing Office (1890, National Register 1984)
Mormon religious beliefs and customs
The Etna School (1890)
The Grouse Creek school (1905-1920)
The Grouse Creek store
Traditional activities associated with the store as community gathering place
Mormon religious beliefs and customs
Mormon folklore genres
Musical and recitation performances by older community members
The East Grouse Creek Irrigation Company
Shared-work occupational tasks, notably spring and fall round-up
Activities fostering community spirit and identity
Community celebrations

Context 5 **Domestic Life in a Mormon Ranching Community, 1900-1930**

By the turn of the century, the ranches in Grouse Creek had become stable family operations. The domestic architecture was more substantial than it had been in the settlement era and was influenced by Mormon tastes and preference to the east. A number of frame, brick, and stone houses were built until construction tapered off in the early 1930s.

At home, roles and spheres of activity were largely defined by gender. Ranch work was labor-intensive and required cooperative effort and the use of hired help.

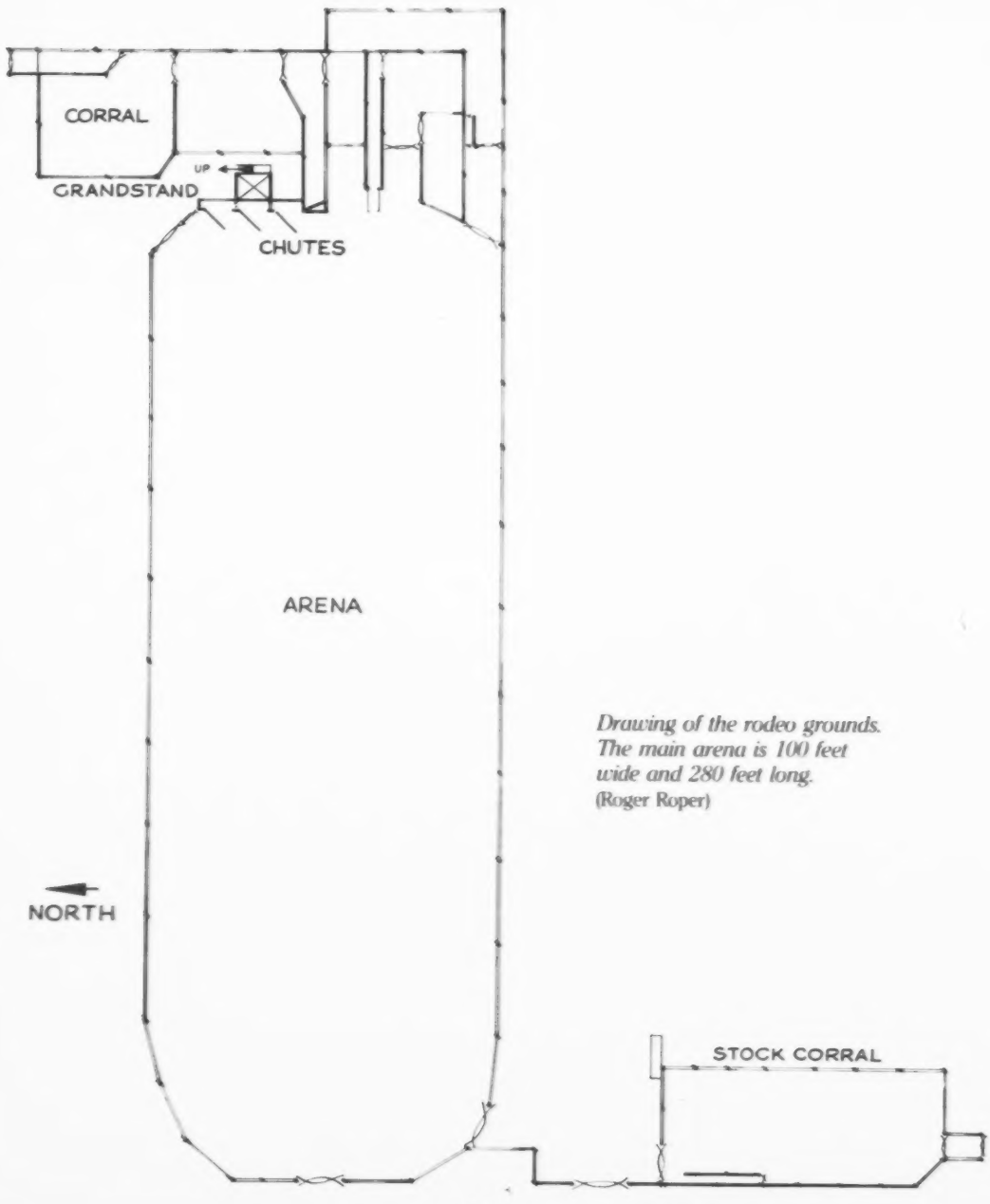
Resources
Selected dwelling types (central-passage, cross-wing, bungalow, etc.)
Traditional foodways and customs
Family folklore

Context 6 **A Postwar Mormon Ranching Community, 1950-present**

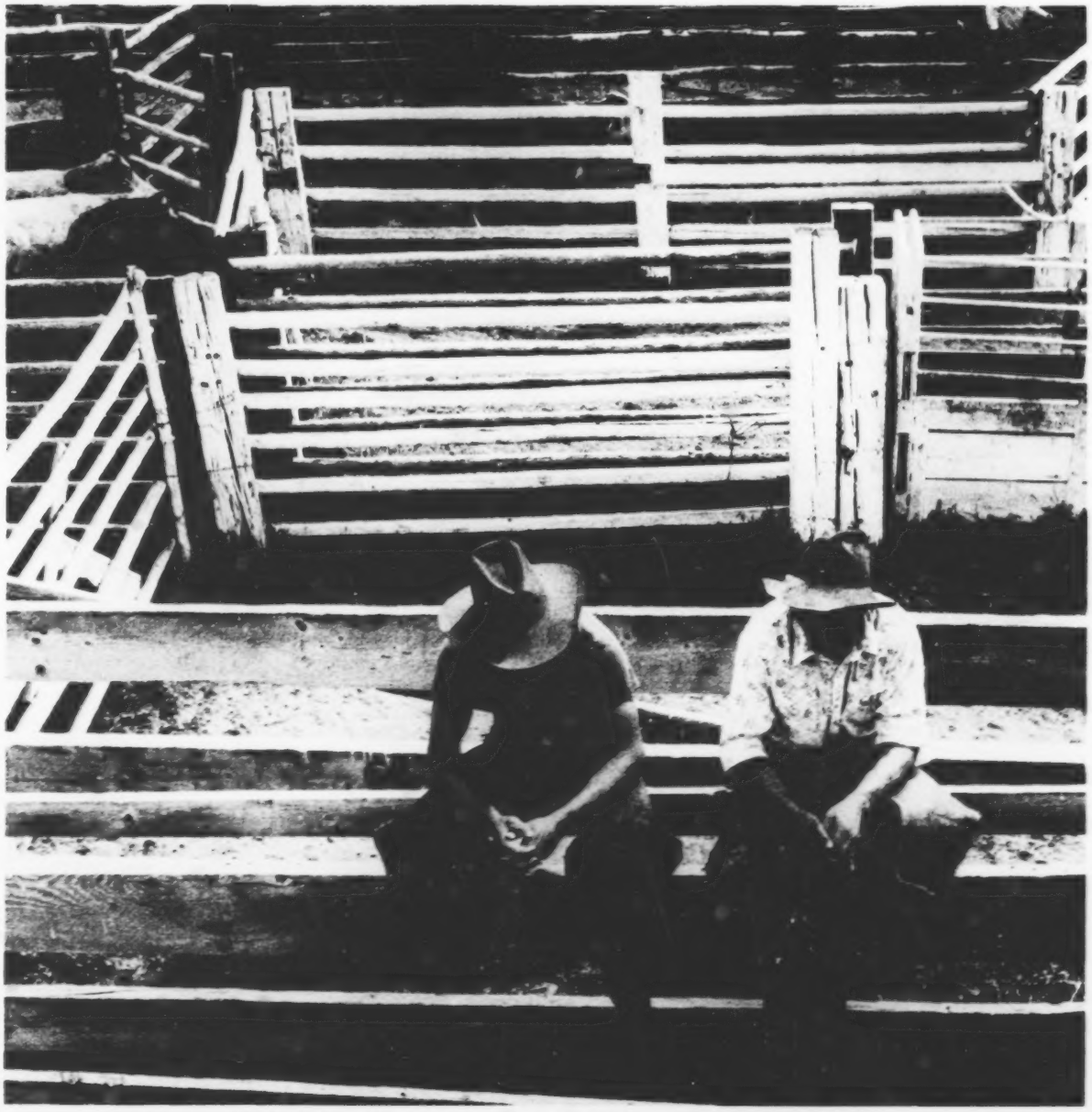
After World War II, a diminished population and improved transportation to nearby towns led to noticeable changes in the community. Young people began to live in more populous communities while attending high school. A standard-plan modern church was built in 1985. The store ceased to be a private enterprize and became a part-time cooperative.

Architecture and family life increasingly resembled mainstream American patterns during the postwar era. Many dwellings were remodeled and a few new houses were built. Common alterations included the elimination of interior walls or partitions in order to create larger living spaces and the addition of aluminum or vinyl siding to exteriors. Entertainment increasingly came from outside the area via broadcast and audio and video recordings and the repertory of foods expanded.

Resources
1984 LDS Meetinghouse
The Grouse Creek cooperative store
Contemporary Mormon folklore genres
Church and community celebrations
Selected ranch-style houses and trailers
Mechanized haying operations
Selected examples of remodeled houses



Drawing of the rodeo grounds. The main arena is 100 feet wide and 280 feet long.
(Roger Roper)



At the Independence Day rodeo. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-4/35)

Conclusion

The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey represents a significant expansion of the customary architectural survey undertaken by state historic preservation offices. At the same time it reflects the growing sense of common enterprise shared by preservationists, archeologists, and folklorists. Just as the ascendency of the idea of historic context signals a concern beyond buildings in isolation, the integrated survey reflects an awareness of the need to look at a wider range of cultural forms.

The successful integration of folklife, historical, and architectural research in Grouse Creek meant that the survey team was able to gain a broad overview of the community's cultural resources in a relatively short time. Taken together, the narrative portions of the inventory of historic properties and the profile of cultural features offer a reasonably comprehensive sense of Grouse Creek's culture and its history from the time of settlement forward. In addition, the preservation historians were able to produce a complete inventory of properties while the folklorists produced a useful enumeration of other cultural features.

The connections between people and the past were revealed by the examination of the cultural landscape—the arrangement on the land of buildings, fences, irrigation systems, and the like. The connection was also evident, returning to Jeff Thomas's phrase, "in the things people do." While things have changed and will continue to change, the way of life that was established in Grouse Creek during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continues to exert a powerful influence on contemporary activities and practices. The survey of the cultural landscape and of the community's expressive culture, both seen in the context of everyday human activities, led to the discovery of a complex intersection of buckaroo and Mormon traditions. The team's full understanding of the buildings depended upon learning how they fit into the local way of life. Their knowledge of Grouse Creek's culture and history was largely gleaned from the field investigation and could not have been derived solely from the available written documents.

The inclusion of folklife research in the integrated survey meant that the team had a large number of person-to-person interactions with Grouse Creek's citizens. Of course, every student of historic architecture will talk to property-owners, but a folklife field researcher is certain to become acquainted with a number of individuals in the community. Several team members kept up their friendships and have revisited the community

Gate to David and Betty Kimber's mobile home, site OGC 5. (Carol Edison; GCCS CEB-25569/1)

since the field investigation was completed. Person-to-person contact contributes to the process of discovery, informing the researcher, for example, of the community's own evaluation of buildings and other phenomena. The personal relationship can also extend to the sponsoring agency and strengthen its ties with local citizens.

The benefits of the Grouse Creek project extended to all the participating agencies. The state historic preservation office gained a better understanding of the study area's buildings and a keener awareness of the significant themes in the community's history. The crucial fact of the influence of the Great Basin buckaroo on local culture would probably have eluded the team's architectural historians without the folklife investigations. Carol Edison, folk arts coordinator at the Utah Arts Council and a team member, has reported that the project sharpened her sense of community cultural identity. Noting the team's consideration of the opening of interior space in the course of postwar house remodeling, she wrote, "In a typical folk arts survey, this display of local values would more easily have been missed" (Edison 1986). She also noted that her investigation of foodways, handled in a more systematic way than usual, led her to the unexpected discovery of chili sauce as an emblematic dish.

The survey's findings, its identification of the Mormon cowboy theme, and the development of the extensive project archive will encourage future exhibits or publications. At the state arts council, for example, Edison will prepare a slide show on the relationship between expressive culture and everyday life. All parties hope that the present publication will be widely read and will be followed by more extensive studies of Grouse Creek.

An integrated survey is more time-consuming and costly than a less elaborate architectural survey; an appendix to this report offers an overview of the project's costs. It takes more time and more people to carry out an ethnographic project than it does to survey architecture or to locate one or two outstanding folk artists. If the participating organizations felt the burden of a short amount of time in small, homogeneous Grouse Creek, one can imagine the challenge to survey a three-county area involving thousands of buildings and scores of different occupational and ethnic groups. The price of adding folklife research is paid in time.

The demand on resources means that a state historic preservation office may be able to conduct an integrated survey only from time to time. When should such a survey be undertaken? The Grouse Creek experience suggests four circumstances for action:

1. When a multi-property or district nomination to the National Register is contemplated. Such nominations will benefit from the cultural information that an integrated survey can provide, and the process will improve the identification of significant structures within the proposed district.
2. When an area is marked by the presence of cultural groups whose cohesion and identity depends in a pronounced way upon factors of region, occupation, ethnicity, or religion. It is unlikely that the built environment in such an area will be fully understood without knowledge of the area's culture.
3. When a product beyond a National Register nomination is in the offing. Publications, exhibits, films, and the like—whether by the preservation office or others—will benefit from the findings of an integrated survey.
4. When interagency cooperation is possible. The Grouse Creek endeavor depended on the cooperation of a number of government agencies.

Toni Tanner and homemade doughnuts. (Carol Edison; GCCS CEB-25502/32)

After the survey

How can the findings of an integrated cultural survey be used? According to the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines*, after a historic preservation survey *identifies* cultural resources, they are to be *evaluated* and *treated*. The evaluation of properties consists of determining whether they are historically significant and eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. Treatment refers to activities that protect properties on or eligible for the National Register, including the Section 106 review process and tax incentives for building rehabilitation.

Could cultural resources other than properties be evaluated? The answer is provided in the lists of property and non-property resources that accompany this report's summary statements of historic and cultural contexts. For example, both the Edward Frost ranch with all its buildings and the technique of roping and throwing calves during branding are significant features of Grouse Creek's cultural heritage within Context 1, *Mormon Cattle Ranching, 1880s-1940*. Both the ranch and the skills needed to work it are products of local culture, even though only the ranch may be listed on the National Register.

The treatment of cultural forms other than properties, however, is a more difficult matter, and brings us to a consideration of cultural conservation. A planner might ask, "What actions would encourage the continuation of a community's culture into the future?" The question presupposes prior identification of elements of culture, and a view of culture as a living, renewable resource. The process of documentation, description, and assessment may itself encourage cultural conservation by heightening self-awareness and self-esteem within the community, and offering greater recognition of the community by outsiders who learn about it from publications, exhibits, and the like. But equally important is the effect of identification and evaluation on larger economic and political forces. Grouse Creek's Mormon cowboy culture will continue only as long as ranches remain profitable and governmental activities do not adversely affect them.

One opportunity to influence policy and economic factors in Grouse Creek emerged too late for the survey team to grasp, but the example is instructive and worthy of discussion. In April 1985, just before the fieldwork in Grouse Creek began (and long before the survey's results had been written up), the Salt Lake City District of the Bureau of Land Management—the federal agency responsible for overseeing public land, including grazing land—circulated a draft of the *Box Elder* [County] *Resource Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement* (Bureau of Land Management 1985). The 180-page document outlined four options for managing more than one million acres of public land in Box Elder County, including the area around Grouse Creek, and assessed the impact of each option on natural and cultural resources.

The conception of the county's cultural resources in the *Management Plan* differs from the one set forth in this report. Five paragraphs under the heading *Cultural Resources* describe prehistoric archeological sites and historic sites associated with the early fur trade and the California emigrant trail, concluding with the assertion that the completion of the first transcontinental railroad at Promontory Point was the most significant event in the county's history. (For an alternate analysis of cultural resources in land use planning, see Hufford 1986.) The plan does not mention Grouse Creek's Mormon cowboys. Ranching appears only in the section titled *Socioeconomics*, which describes the overall economic situation of four typical (but hypothetical) cattle and sheep operations and assesses the impact of the four management options on their income and capital value. The *Management Plan* was drafted before the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey took place and could not take advantage of its findings, but its thin view of cultural resources does resemble that of its predecessors.

Most of the plan consists of the reports of the naturalists who studied the county's plants, wildlife, and minerals. In a paper written in 1986, Grouse Creek fieldworker Hal Cannon portrayed these scientists as advocates for their subject matter, concerned to protect flora, fauna, and significant geological formations. Cannon spoke for the entire team when he compared the Bureau of Land Management naturalists' interest in conservation to that of the folklorists and historians, writing that "talking to ranchers every

Doug and Kathleen Tanner and their children. (Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-2/5A)

day raised the question of the role we might play in preserving their traditional way of making a living" (Cannon 1986).

How would a plan that includes the ethnographic and historical information from the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey help conserve culture? First, the additional information would enrich the plan's description of cultural resources and link them in an important way to its socioeconomic analysis. And since the draft of the plan is itself a part of a political process—the solicitation of comments and the round of public hearings that precede decision-making—the inclusion of the survey's findings would have meant that Grouse Creek's Mormon cowboy culture would have been explicitly considered by all participants in the process.

Historic preservation and cultural conservation programs exist to protect the nation's cultural heritage. The most important part of this heritage exists in the hearts and minds of people. The houses, poems, religious beliefs, saddles, roping skills, and jars of chili sauce in Grouse Creek are manifestations of the knowledge and skills that comprise one facet of this heritage. The research team hopes that this survey has nurtured the community's understanding of its own history and has communicated it to other parts of the state and nation.

Ella Tanner canning raspberries. (Carol Edison; GCCS CEB-25568/36)

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Etna School, site OGC 25. The pupils stabled their horses in the stone building to the rear. (Roger Roper GCCS RRB 25559-8)

Fieldworker Tom Carter drafting the outline of a tape recorded interview at project headquarters.
(Carl Fleischhauer; GCCS CFB-231196-5/22A)

Appendix A

The Project Archive

The documentary materials and reports from the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey comprise a collection at the Austin and Alta Fife Folklore Archives at Utah State University. Reference copies of the project archive have been placed at the American Folklife Center, the Utah State Historical Society, and the Folk Arts Program at the Utah Division of Fine Arts. Information about the properties documented in Grouse Creek is part of the statewide historic preservation database at the Utah State Historical Society. The papers, drawings, and photographs from the work occupy the equivalent of two vertical file drawers, and the sound recordings occupy about four linear feet of shelf space.

1. **Written Documentation**

Fieldnotes and logs	265 pages
Drawings	22 sheets
Fieldworker papers and reports	42 pages
Miscellaneous items	60 pages

2. **Photographs**

Color transparencies	
35mm	2259
2¼-inch	30
Color negatives	
35mm	27
Black and white negatives	
35mm rolls	68
2¼-inch square rolls	4
Contact sheets	72
Sample prints	45

3. **Sound Recordings**

7-inch reels, ¼-inch tape	38 (19 hours)
60-minute cassettes	19 (19 hours)
Digital cassette	1 (2 hours)

Simplot cowboys Milt Oman and Barney McWilliams riding near Emigrant Pass. (Hal Cannon GCCS HCB 25556-8)

Appendix B

Estimate of Project Cost Requirements for Each Participating Agency

This estimate has been compiled to suggest the overall costs of an integrated cultural survey. It is not a strict final accounting of the actual costs of the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey but is intended to offer guidance to other organizations contemplating such a survey. The project's relatively high costs in terms of both time and money reflect its role as a prototype and the preparation of a final report that both addresses general policy matters and presents particular information about the survey area.

I. **The American Folklife Center.** The center furnished the project coordinator (for the period of planning and the field investigation) and the field consultant (and co-author of the report), paid their travel expenses, supported the use of word-processors to inscribe field data, provided some supplies, and assisted with many of the costs connected with the production of this report.

Personnel		
Project coordinator	10 weeks	
Field consultant	10 weeks	
Expenses, supplies, other costs		$ 6,000

II. **Utah State Historic Preservation Office.** The office furnished a historian and an architectural historian, the project coordinator (during the analysis and report-writing phase), paid the historian and architectural historian's travel expenses, provided some supplies, and assisted with other miscellaneous costs.

Personnel		
Architectural historian	4 weeks	
Historian	2 weeks	
Project coordinator	12 weeks	
Expenses, supplies, other costs		$ 4,000

III. **Utah Arts Council.** The council furnished two folklorists, covered their travel expenses, and the cost of their supplies.

Personnel		
Folklorist	4 weeks	
Folklorist	6 weeks	
Expenses, supplies, other costs		$ 4,500

IV. **Western Folklife Center.** The center carried out many administrative functions connected with the operation of the project. Most project costs were covered by a contract from the American Folklife Center to the Western Folklife Center; these outlays have been included above as part of the expenses borne by the American Folklife Center. The residual costs covered by the Western Folklife Center are listed here.

Personnel		
Administrator	4 weeks	
Expenses		$ 500

V. **Utah State University.** The university carried out the final organization of the project archive and oversaw the production of the three reference archives provided to the American Folklife Center, the Utah Division of State History, and the Utah Division of Fine Arts. The work had not yet been performed when this report was written, and the following estimates are preliminary.

Personnel		
Archivist	6 weeks	
Expenses		$ 300

VI. **National Park Service.** The National Park Service supported the publication of this report.

Expenses		$ 3,000

Total resource requirements

Personnel	58 people-weeks	
Expenses other than personnel		**$18,300**

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